

By the same Author

WILLIAM WALLACE

ALEXANDER THE THIRD

LETTERS OF GEORGE DEMPSTER TO
SIR ADAM FERGUSSON, 1756-1813
THE GREEN GARDEN (Anthology)

JOHN FERGUSSON

1727-1750

by

JAMES FERGUSSON



'Tis time to leave the Books in dust,
And oyl th'unused Armours rust,
Removing from the Wall
The Corslet of the Hall.

ANDREW MARVELL

JONATHAN CAPE
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TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

INTRODUCTION

Books about the Jacobite rising of 1745-6 are almost innumerable, and perhaps some apology may seem due for the appearance of yet another dealing with that over-written period, even though in this case the rising is only an incidental part of the background of its story.

I offer, rather than an apology, an explanation. This book portrays an Ayrshire family of the 1740's, in particular its eldest son, John Fergusson. The main story begins in 1743 and continues till 1750. It shows the effect of the Jacobite outbreak on the life of a group of Scottish people of ordinary, average political views: that is to say that, being Presbyterians, they were supporters of the established government and the Protestant succession, and they regarded Prince Charles Edward Stuart's attempt to win back for his father the throne of his ancestors as an 'unnatural rebellion'.

Novelists, playwrights, and sometimes historians, from the time of Sir Walter Scott to the present day, have combined to depict the 'Forty-five in a sympathetic and romantic light. Regarded as a gallant adventure, undertaken against hopeless odds and carried through with great bravery, not least on the part of Prince Charles himself, it is natural that the rising should command attention and admiration. But the romantic view was not the contemporary one. To the great majority of Scotsmen and almost all Englishmen of 1745 the Highland insurgents were not by any means gallant, unselfish crusaders sacrificing all they had in the cause of their rightful king: they were 'these disturbers of our peace'.

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Moreover the disproportionate amount of ink which has been shed over Prince Charles's adventure has had two results most unfortunate to the proper understanding of Scottish history. It has attracted excessive notice to the rising, to the neglect of more important periods of the eighteenth century in Scotland, and it has given, especially to English readers, an impression that Scotland at that time was a predominantly Jacobite country, the actual insurgents being the active enthusiasts of a population largely sympathetic to their enterprise.

In actual fact the disaster of the 'Forty-five was not that it failed but that it occurred. The damage it did to the Jacobite cause was nothing to the damage it did to Scotland. For forty years before that fateful landing at Loch nan Uamh, Scotland and England had been slowly learning, after centuries of hostility, to understand each other. The Union, originally disliked by both countries, and highly unsatisfactory—and indeed unjust—to Scotland in many of its clauses, was being made to work. Wise and broadminded patriots like Sir George Warrender, the second Duke of Argyll, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden, had laboured to overcome its disadvantageous features, to make use of its benefits, and to increase the influence and prosperity of their country. All this work was shaken and thrown back by the eight months' nightmare of the rising, and the panic into which England had been startled resulted in cruel and unjust measures and a long legacy of misunderstanding and suspicion in both countries of which the effect in some degree lingers to this day.

Apprehensions of some of these results begin to appear towards the end of this book. But its main theme is the effect of the Jacobite cataclysm on one family,

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and particularly on one young man. It altered the whole course of his life, changed his career from the law to the army, and turned him in a few months from a diffident and slightly feckless young man into a promising young soldier who won 'golden opinions from all sorts of people'. He, his father, and his tutor are the principal figures in this story, which may be described as a tragi-comedy. The first act, so to speak, is concerned chiefly with his education and has what may be called a domestic setting. The 'Forty-five forms the background of the second—though in this episode the figures occasionally recede and the tempestuous scene beyond them claims undivided attention. In the third act the tale of two of the chief figures is brought to a close; but the setting is again a peaceful one.

Thus the 'Forty-five is seen, as in fact it was, as a crisis—a sudden and alarming interruption to the ordinary business of life in eighteenth-century Scotland. Far from being a general disturbance, it is an outbreak in one corner of the kingdom which spreads into the middle of it and after a few months recedes into the mountains whence it came, leaving those who have witnessed it to resume as best they can the thread of their ordinary lives and to speculate on its consequences. It should be noted that the characters in this book refer to the insurgents as 'the Highlanders', showing that contemporary opinion regarded them as belonging not to Scotland as a whole but to a distinctive and remote part of it. It is also noteworthy that the word 'Whig', so popular with Jacobite novelists and historians, is not once employed by any of the correspondents.

The story is based on the surviving correspondence of its characters and is as much as possible told in their own words. Most of the letters quoted are preserved at

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Kilkerran, John Fergusson's Ayrshire home. His father's letters are in general rough drafts, full of abbreviations and corrections, and sometimes very difficult to decipher. The text as printed preserves all idiosyncrasies of spelling and punctuation, but abbreviations have been expanded and the use of capital letters modernised to facilitate reading. In the part of the book dealing with the march of the Highland army to Derby and back to Culloden, I have quoted frequently, in order to contrast Jacobite with Hanoverian views, from *1745 and After*, the narrative of John O'Sullivan, Adjutant and Quartermaster-General of the Highland army, edited by Alistair and Henrietta Tayler. It is one of the most vivid and valuable accounts of the 'Forty-five from the Jacobite side, and I welcome this opportunity of drawing further attention to it.

I wish to acknowledge the help I have received from several people in the course of this work; in particular that of my parents, whose careful transcription of many of the letters has greatly lightened my task, and that of Miss Henrietta Tayler and her brother the late Alistair Tayler, who read the first draft of the book, and gave exhaustive and invaluable advice for its revision.

JAMES FERGUSON

THE EDUCATION OF JOHN FERGUSSON

ON 27th August 1726 there took place in Edinburgh the marriage of James Fergusson, a successful advocate of thirty-nine, and Jean Maitland, aged twenty-four, grand-daughter of the fifth Earl of Lauderdale.

The bridegroom was the eldest son of Sir John Fergusson of Kilkerran, who, though now living in retirement in Ayrshire, had had, like James, a prosperous career at the Scottish Bar. Sir John, who was now about seventy-two years old, was the representative of an Ayrshire family of great antiquity though not particularly distinguished history, which had held lands in Carrick since the days of James II at least, and according to tradition since those of Robert I. He possessed the family estate, on which he had built a comfortable modern house; but he was not the head of the family by blood. It had been reduced to poverty by its adherence to the cause of Charles I and the leadership of Montrose. The renaissance of its fortunes dated from the end of the seventeenth century, and was due to Sir John himself. Born about 1654, he had been admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1681; and within five years amassed enough money to buy, with the goodwill of his cousins of the elder line, a part of the family lands. The rest, including the old tower where they had lived, he acquired in 1701. He was created a baronet of Scotland in 1703, and appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for Ayrshire in 1717. His wife, whom he had married in 1684, was Jean Whitefoord, sister of Sir Adam Whitefoord of Whitefoord, and their children, so far as is

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recorded, were three sons and a daughter: James, born in 1688; Adam, a major in the army; Alexander, who apparently died young; and Jean, who married Alexander MacDowall of Garthland, the head of a very ancient family in Galloway. James, like many young Scotsmen of his time, studied law at Leyden as well as at Edinburgh, and was admitted advocate in 1711. He attained some celebrity as an advocate and, in later life, as a judge, but there is not much to be found about him in contemporary memoirs.¹

Jean Maitland was an only child, fatherless since the age of six. Her father was James, Lord Maitland, who married Jean, eldest daughter of John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland, and died in 1709, in the lifetime of his father (John, fifth Earl of Lauderdale) and after only seven years of marriage. Jean Maitland was brought up at her paternal grandfather's house of Thirlestane and at Edinburgh, where her mother had lodgings in Holyroodhouse. Letters survive which cast some light on her doings in Edinburgh when she first entered its society in 1722, and she seems to have been a lively and attractive girl with many friends. Her marriage to James Fergusson was a very happy one. Their eldest son, John, the principal character in this book, was born

¹ 'He was undoubtedly one of the ablest lawyers of his time. His knowledge was founded on a thorough acquaintance with the Roman jurisprudence, imbibed from the best commentators on the Pandects; and with the recondite learning of Craig, who had laid open the foundations of the Scottish law in all that regards the system of feudalism. Of his manner as a barrister we have no other record than the printed papers of his composition, which evince a skilful arrangement of his matter, a judicious selection of his ground of argument, and a nervous brevity of expression which admits of no rhetorical embellishments. The probity and integrity of his moral character entitled him to respect and veneration. The decisions which he has recorded during the period when he sat as a judge of the Supreme Court, exhibit the clearest comprehension of jurisprudence, and will for ever serve as a model for the most useful form of law reports.'—A. F. Tytler, *Life of Lord Kames*, vol. i, p. 36. The book referred to in the last sentence, generally known as 'Kilkerran's Decisions,' was published after his death, in 1775.

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at Edinburgh on 27th July 1727.¹ The first reference to him in the family correspondence appears in an affectionate letter from Sir John Fergusson to his daughter-in-law written from Kilkerran on 1st September:

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

I am favoured with yours which gives me great satisfactione to have it confirmed under your owne hand what I've bein told of your being in good health from the birth of your sone of whom I wish you much joye and that you and he may live to be als great a comfort to one another as you are to me att present. I have nothing now to long for in this lyffe but the pleasure of seeing you and him here in good health which as you wryt I can not expect till the spring. I hope in God I shal live to that happie tyme. I intreat you'll make my doutifull respects acceptable to your worthie mother and grand-mother. You have been happie in one another att this occation. Long may you continue. This is wryt in the morning at fyve of the klok, and the boy is in such hast to gett it to be with you to-morrow night that I add no more but that I am whyle I am

My dear daughter

Your loving and affectionat

father and devoted humble servant

JO: FERGUSSONE

About this time James Fergusson was compelled by the claims of estate business at Kilkerran to leave his wife and son in Edinburgh and come home. His letters are full of regret at their separation and longing for their reunion. 'My blessing to Jocky,' he concludes his letter of 12th September. 'Let me beg of you to take care of your self for his sake and mine for if I can not bring myself to think my dearest is easy I shall certainly dye of

¹ All dates in this book are Old Style.

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the vapours.' His letters were frequent, and each one contained a reference to his father's 'little comrade,' as Sir John called his grandson, and generally concluded with 'blessings to Jockey.' The tragedies and comedies of other families always set him thinking of his own little son.

Kilkerran. September 30th 1727.

. . . The old folks desire me to tell ye they have nothing to comfort them in the winter but the hopes of seeing you here in the spring. My father asks me many questions about his comrade whom you likewise give him hopes of seeing, but that shall be no sooner than my Lady Maitland thinks convenient for him. . . . As I came through Air I called at Sir Adam Whitefoord's where I was told they thought their grand-child just a-dying. God preserve Jocky for a comfort to us. All here offer their kind respects to my Lady Maitland, Lady Helen,¹ and your other friends. My father desires you'll offer his humble service to my Lord Sutherland, as I do. He gives his blessing to yourself as does your mama. No body can be minded with more affection than you are by them, which adds much to the comfort I have in my dearest lamb whose I am while

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Kilkerran. October 2nd 1727.

. . . Happening to light in my way home at a countrey house betwixt Hamilton and Eglinton I saw a child on the woman's knee playing many little tricks and muttering 'baba, papa.' So little skill had I that I thought it at least three quarters old but when the woman told me it was but four months I was delighted to think the young gentleman wou'd so soon be good company. My dearest can expect nothing from me to divert you

¹ Lady Helen Sutherland, Lady Maitland's sister. She died unmarried at Rossdhu in 1749.



SIR JOHN FERGUSSON, FIRST BARONET OF KILKERRAN

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from this place which is duller to me than ever I found it. . . .

Kilkerran. October 4th 1727.

Captain Whitfoord's son¹ dyed Sunday last, they caused him to be opened and his disease was water in his head which cannot be imputed to his nurse who withall they say was a very bad one. Tho' we have so good a prospect as any body can hope of the life of a child whom God preserve yet I have often cautioned you not to set your heart on him but still with a resignation to the will of God whatever may be the event. They say the poor young woman his mother² is like to distract and indeed she is in a very bad way herself. She looks the likest thing to a decay I ever saw and no appearance of being again with child. . . .

Sir John writes again to his daughter-in-law:

Kilkerran. October 10, 1727.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

I am affrayed by this tyme you will think I have forgot you. . . . We shall have nothing to consoal us this winter but the hope of seeing you and bringing us a litil comrade in the spring who will be the welcomest nixt to your self of any we ever had under our rooffe. I'm at a losse to know what compliment to make him. I have som faith that he may [be] diverted with a whisell,

¹ The only child of Captain John Whitefoord of Lord Cadogan's regiment of dragoons, eldest son of Sir Adam Whitefoord and cousin of James Fergusson. He succeeded his father as second baronet of Whitefoord and Blairquhan in 1728, was Major of Stair's dragoons in 1743, and Colonel of the 12th Dragoons, 'late Sackville's', in 1750. He ultimately reached the rank of lieutenant-general, and died in 1763.

² Captain Whitefoord's wife was Alice Muir. She lived to bear her husband three other children at least, and survived him by three years. Their son John (c. 1729-1803), who succeeded as third baronet of Whitefoord and Ballochmyle, is believed to have been the original of 'Sir Arthur Wardour' in Scott's *The Antiquary*. He was ruined by the failure of the Ayr bank of Douglas, Heron, and Co., in which he was a partner, in 1782, and was forced at length to part with all the family estates, Ballochmyle being acquired by the family of Alexander, and Blairquhan by that of Hunter Blair.

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if that be agreeable to you lett him get one and I will pay for it tho' it be of golde. We expected to have seen him here sooner but I can not blaime you not to part with him till you had some assurance of another in his place. I pray God preserve you all to be comforts to one another als much as you are to me att present and have ever been and I hope ever will be whyle I live which can not be long. . . .

. . . : I am delited to know [adds Lady Fergusson in a postscript to her husband's letter] ye and your son ar weel, but ther's a great hole in the house for want of you, we never sit down to tabel but I think ther's a great want and at all diversion at night. . . .

Sir John Fergusson died on 14th February 1729, at the age of seventy-five, and was buried in the old tower of Kilkerran, by then abandoned as a dwelling, in a quiet glen two miles from the modern house. He was to be joined there in the course of the next eighteen years by four of his small grandchildren.

In the spring of 1734¹ Sir James Fergusson entered Parliament as member for Sutherland, a constituency which was practically in the gift of his wife's cousin, William, sixteenth Earl of Sutherland. The latter had been M.P. for Sutherland himself from 1727 until he succeeded his grandfather in 1733; in the General Election of the following year he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers for Scotland. It was natural that he should choose his cousin's husband to succeed him in the Sutherland seat, for the Sutherlands and Fergussons were on very friendly terms.²

¹ The *Return of Members of Parliament*, Part II, p. 84, gives the date of his election as 30th May; on the other hand he is reported as the 'new Member of Parliament . . . for the county of Sutherland, in Scotland, in the room of the present E[arl] of Sutherland' in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March of the same year (vol. iv, p. 165).

² Several letters from Lord Kilkerran to the Earl of Sutherland are in the Charter Room at Dunrobin.

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But Sir James held his seat for only a few months. Shortly after his election Sir Robert Walpole hurried through Parliament an Act which made Lords of Session ineligible to sit in the House of Commons. This measure was really aimed at James Erskine, Lord Grange, who was proposing to enter Parliament in opposition to him. Undeterred, Lord Grange resigned the judge's gown which he had worn for twenty-eight years and on 30th May 1734 was triumphantly elected member for the Stirling burghs. Meanwhile he returned to the Bar, and for a short time pled in the court where he had so often sat in judgment. 'Mr Erskine of Grange,' reports an Edinburgh correspondent of the time, 'now shynes att the bar as he always did on the bench when he had a mind to it, and is exceeding throng in bussiness.'¹ Having made this gesture, however, he soon afterwards retired from the Bar; nor did he succeed in bringing Walpole down, as had been his hope.

One indirect result of this comedy of politics was the termination of Sir James Fergusson's political career; for in the autumn of 1735 it was decided to make him a judge of the Court of Session. 'How Sir James Fergusson's place in the House of Commons is to be supplied is more than I can tell,' wrote an Edinburgh correspondent of the Lord Advocate's on 9th October.² On 7th November Sir James was raised to the Bench, and took the title of Lord Kilkerran, the name by which he is best known; and on 6th May 1736 Colonel James St Clair of Balblair was elected M.P. for Sutherland in his place. Not for nearly forty years did another member of Lord Kilkerran's family sit in Parliament.

¹ James Nasmyth to Alexander Murray of Broughton, 30th June 1734. (Cally MSS., in the possession of Mrs Murray-Usher.)

² Dr John Clerk to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, 9th October 1735: *More Culloden Papers*, ed. Duncan Warrand, 1927, vol. iii, p. 112.

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His character as a judge has already been described. There is little record of his private character apart from his letters, which display him as wise, broadminded, kindly, and pious. He enjoyed good company and good wine, and like many of his generation he suffered severely from the gout. But he had the reputation of an abstemious man. Ramsay of Ochertyre reports a saying concerning the Lords of Justiciary of this period—‘that there were two of them, Justice-Clerk Erskine and Minto, who *ate*; two of them, Strichen and Drummorie, who *drank*; and two that neither ate nor drank, Elchies and Kilkerran.’¹

The most celebrated case in which Lord Kilkerran was concerned as a judge was one in which he played an entirely passive part—the trial, in 1752, of James Stewart of the Glen on the charge of being art and part in the killing of Colin Campbell of Glenure—the famous ‘Appin murder.’ The Duke of Argyll, in his capacity as Lord Justice-General, assumed the leading part in the conduct of the trial, and, to judge by the printed report, neither of the circuit judges, Elchies and Kilkerran, opened his mouth throughout its course.

Lord Kilkerran, it may be noted, appears as a character in two well-known works of fiction written round the Appin murder trial—Stevenson’s *Catriona* and Neil Munro’s *Doom Castle*. In the first he is no more than a name; in the second he plays a small part in the story, and is depicted with a complete lack of accuracy. In the original publication of *Doom Castle* as a serial in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, Lord Kilkerran was a kind of Braxfield, with the ‘roving blood-shot eye of the habitual *roué*.’ This libel drew a protest from Kilkerran’s great-

¹ *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, edited from the Ochertyre MSS. by Alexander Allardyce, 1888, vol. i, p. 93, note.

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great-grandson, and when *Doom Castle* appeared in book form Munro changed the misrepresented feature into 'the cold, lack-lustre eye of the passionate mathematician,' and its owner from 'a libertine' into 'a reputed moralist.' None of these descriptions can be fitted to the writer of the letters in this book or the calm face of the portrait, painted by Allan Ramsay, which is set in the panelling above the fireplace of Lord Kilkerran's bedroom.

During his father's lifetime Lord Kilkerran seems already to have taken over the management of the estate. The great age of agricultural reform in Scotland had not yet arrived, but there were indications that the dawn of 'improvement' was breaking on the primitive drudgery which had for so long darkened the life of the Scottish farmer; and draining, enclosing, and experiments in planting were being practised by the more progressive lairds. Lord Kilkerran was a member of 'the Honourable the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland,' a body which had been founded in 1723 and was the prototype of the modern Highland and Agricultural Society, founded sixty years later. It was the first organised attempt in Scotland to make a scientific study of agricultural methods. Some enquiries of Lord Kilkerran's, printed in the Society's *Transactions* for 1743,¹ illustrate his endeavours to improve some of his fields lying beside the Water of Girvan, which frequently flooded them, and to introduce a proper rotation of crops. Robert Maxwell of Arkland, the editor of the Society's *Transactions*, adds some details regarding five hundred acres of moor above the house of Kilkerran, which their owner was improving by 'paring, burning, and liming,' with most satisfactory results. 'I

¹ Pp. 9-10.

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am well informed,' Maxwell says,¹ 'that . . . the common farmers in the neighbourhood, who, until they saw what he did, and what crops he got, never so much as once fancied that such barren-like ground was a subject proper for agriculture, begin now to copy after him.'

The house where the family lived, to which they had removed at the beginning of the century from their cramped quarters in the old tower, stood on or near the site of an old Kennedy house named Barclanachan. It was a plain, dignified, and well-proportioned building of three storeys, with high rooms and large windows. Beside it the Barclanachan burn tumbled among its rocks, and half a mile to the west ran the smooth current of the Water of Girvan, between the rough fields which George Buchanan had commended a hundred and fifty years before—'*pascuis fecunda, nec infelix frumento*.'² Much of this low ground was still in need of clearing—at the end of the last century it had been described as 'so covered with wood that it looks lyke a forrest';³ and since the river often flooded it it was boggy in many places. In one of the holms were still to be seen—a relic of a less peaceful age—the remains of the stone dyke forming the enclosure in which another Sir John Fergusson, Lord Kilkerran's great-grandfather, had pastured the horses which were part of his contribution to Montrose's army.

Besides Kilkerran, the family had a residence in Edinburgh, where 'Kilkerran's Court' stood near the head of Forrester's Wynd on the west side. Forrester's Wynd was a little west of St Giles, running down from the north side of the High Street to the Cowgate; but this district of old Edinburgh has long since been rebuilt.

¹ Pp. 19-20.

² *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, ed. Robert Fribarn, 1727, p. 13.

³ William Abercrombie, *A Description of Carrick*, in *MacFarlane's Geographical Collections*, vol. ii (Scottish History Society), 1907, p. 11.

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Lord Kilkerran also owned, either now or later, 'a little neat house' just outside the city, at Sunberry, which seems to have been known as 'the Windmiln.' The house in Forrester's Wynd probably consisted of no more than a flat of a few rooms, and must have been, like all Edinburgh homes of this time, even in the most fashionable parts of the city, a cramped and insanitary dwelling. It was not, however, so dirty as some of its neighbours, for when Lord Kilkerran advertised it to let, at a yearly rental of £20, he was able to add the reassuring recommendation that it was 'free of bugs and smoke,'¹ which must have been a compensation for the unusually high value set upon it.

On his Ayrshire estate Lord Kilkerran did a great deal of clearing and planting, laying out paths through the policies, making two fine 'diagonals' of beech-trees up the steep slope behind the house, and setting clumps of the same trees in well-chosen positions about it. He also planted some of the first silver firs to be introduced into the west of Scotland. Most of these magnificent trees still survive, having been set in a picturesque glen which has sheltered them from the winter storms which have proved fatal to many of his other trees, including the 'Great Diagonal' of beeches.

His family increased steadily, as was the way in those days. 'Lady Jean,' as she was known according to the fashion of the time, had no less than fourteen children, several of whom died in their childhood. In November, 1743, the family at Kilkerran consisted of John, who was now in his seventeenth year; three daughters, Jean, Margaret, and Helen,² aged respectively fifteen, fourteen,

¹ Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. ii, p. 235, quoted by H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, revised edition, 1928, p. 87.

² Afterwards the second wife of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes.

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and two and a half; and four boys, Adam¹ (ten), Archibald (five), Charles (nearly four), and George² (a baby of less than three months). Of three other sons (two called James and one William), and two other daughters (another Helen, and Elizabeth), none had survived the age of seven, though most of them had reached it. Lord Kilkerran's mother had died in 1740 at the age of eighty.

For John's character the papers printed in this book are the chief evidence. His early death seems to have cut short a career of unusual promise. The charm, courage, and humour of his personality as a young man can be guessed from his letters. That as a small boy he was very much like other small boys there is the testimony of his grandmother Lady Sutherland's French dictionary (Boyer's, published in 1699), which bears inside its front cover a scribbled 'Jocky,' and a crude drawing rather resembling the illustrations to Edward Lear's *Nonsense Songs*, with the inscription, 'M^{rs} Wilson roaring for her spectacles.'

There is no portrait of John: we have his mother's evidence that none was ever drawn. He probably had the family features shown in the portraits of two of his brothers and a sister; grey-blue eyes, a nose narrow, straight, and rather long, a firm mouth and chin and rather hollow cheeks. Perhaps also he had the wavy red-brown hair of his sisters and his brother Adam. His love for shooting, fishing, and riding is mentioned more than once in these letters, as well as the complaint that these diversions, or mere 'sauntering,' were too often preferred to 'business'—hardly surprising in a boy of seventeen. A number of his books survive in the library

¹ Afterwards Sir Adam Fergusson, third baronet of Kilkerran, M.P., LL.D.

² Afterwards a Lord of Session as Lord Hermand.



JEAN MAITLAND, ABOUT THE TIME OF HER MARRIAGE

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at Kilkerran, among the considerable collection made by his father and brother.

Something must also be said of Lady Jean, whose affection and piety proved a strong influence on her children's lives. Her letters are much fewer than her husband's, and it is only at a few widely separated periods of her life that enough papers survive to give a clear picture of her. Her account-book for some later years show that she was a good housewife and a mother who watched all her children's interests with loving care. She had been well educated, wrote occasionally some conventional but quite accomplished verse, and like many Edinburgh ladies of her time was keenly and practically interested in music; a harpsichord and spinet were among the furniture at Kilkerran's Court, and when her daughters grew up she took them frequently to such public concerts as were given in the city. She and they spent many hours in embroidery, and a set of twelve chairs is still at Kilkerran with beautifully worked covers bearing the initials of Lady Jean and her daughters.

John's education had advanced to the university stage when, in the autumn of 1743, his father decided that it should be completed in England. It was an unusual decision for those days. For generations past, Scottish boys, especially students of law, had gone to the Continent to seek such instruction as they could not get at home. This was partly because of the long wars with England and the traditions of Continental alliances and friendships they left behind. Moreover, English universities were not open to Presbyterians, nor, if they had been, could the Roman law, on which the Scottish legal system is founded, be studied there so well as in the Netherlands, where Lord Kilkerran himself had gone as

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a young man, and many of his contemporaries, such as Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.¹

But circumstances had changed since the Union of the Parliaments. The prejudices of Scots and English were beginning to wane as the two nations came at length to make peaceful acquaintance with each other; and differences of speech, once a matter of no importance, had become a barrier to communication and in many cases a handicap to business. Untravelled members of either nation found themselves almost unintelligible when they crossed the Tweed. It was only five years before this that another Scottish judge, Lord Dun, made a speech at the Bar of the House of Lords of which a brother judge, Lord Kames, reported, 'Deil *ae* word, from beginning to end, did the English understand.'²

It was quite natural, therefore, that Lord Kilkerran should wish his son to acquire a command of the English accent in the course of his education. But this was only a minor reason for sending John to England. It happened that at this time there existed at Northampton a school which supplied as good an education as could then be had at any English university, and which was kept by a man of sterling character, a Dissenting minister, Dr Philip Doddridge.

Doddridge's Academy was one of the most famous of the Dissenters' schools in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was founded at Kibworth, Leicestershire, by John Jennings, about the year 1715, and Doddridge himself went there as a pupil in 1719. In 1722 it removed to Hinkley, and in the following year Jennings died. The Academy then passed into the control of a group of Dissenting ministers who, at a

¹ See his *Memoirs* (Scottish History Society, 1892), pp. 12-18.

² *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 543, note.

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meeting held at Lutterworth in April, 1729, decided to re-establish it, with Doddridge as tutor, at Harborough, whence it was again moved, a few months later, to Northampton. Doddridge was at this time twenty-eight years old.

The Academy had difficulties to contend with in its early years. According to the law at that time, Dissenters were not allowed to establish schools, and in 1732 an attempt was made to prosecute Doddridge for teaching without a licence from the Bishop of Peterborough. Doddridge defied the citation to appear before the Archdeacon of Northampton, and in due course his troubles were ended by the intervention of King George II, who insisted 'that in his reign there should be no persecution for conscience' sake.'

For many years after Doddridge's death in 1751 the Academy continued with varying fortunes. It was eventually merged, in 1850, in New College, London.¹

Probably no better teaching for a boy of sixteen and a half could at that time have been found anywhere in Great Britain, and Lord Kilkerran's decision to send John to Northampton is evidence, supported, as will be seen, by his correspondence with Dr Doddridge, of the breadth of mind and balanced judgment which he always displayed over the question of his son's education.

Both education and board at the Academy were remarkably cheap. Great attention was paid to discipline and to regularity of work. The curriculum was unusually wide, embracing not only theology, history, and mathematics, but anatomy, astronomy, mechanics, and other scientific subjects. 'Though the lectures were no doubt superficial, yet the fact, which must not be lost sight of,

¹ This account of Doddridge's Academy is mostly taken from Irene Parker's *Dissenting Academies in England*, 1914, pp. 77-81.

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is that such subjects were taken, and that an attempt, however crude, was made to take them experimentally.¹ Lectures were given in English, a practice in which Doddridge was something of a pioneer. Latin and Greek were studied incidentally, but were not part of the regular curriculum; and Lord Kilkerran felt obliged to lay emphasis on his desire that John—who, he hoped, would some day follow in the steps of his father and grandfather at the Scottish Bar—should be well instructed in Latin. The regular course of studies at the Academy was planned to cover four years, but the system proposed for John was in the form of a selection from this, as his time at Northampton was designed to be under two years. It is clear that he occupied a somewhat favoured position in the establishment, and that great affection existed between him and Doddridge from the very beginning of his residence there.

Doddridge's letters are long-winded and more than a little unctuous in tone; but he was an astute and cultured man, earnest for his pupils' welfare and abnormally industrious in every activity of his life. He was a tireless correspondent to a wide circle of friends; and he wrote many hymns, like his friend Dr Isaac Watts, some of which are still sung in both English and Scottish churches. He was an excellent teacher, and as warm-hearted as a parent to the youths under his care. 'His piety,' says one of his obituary notices, 'was without disguise, his love without jealousy, his benevolence without bounds.' In spite of the elaborate code of rules by which his pupils were governed,² he ruled the Academy rather as the father of a large family than as a schoolmaster. He enjoyed the friendship of many

¹ Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

² See Parker, *op. cit.*, Appendix III, pp. 147-153.

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eminent men, and his company seems to have been welcomed everywhere. None the less, the twentieth-century reader who takes the trouble to struggle through the five volumes of his published correspondence may be excused for feeling a little surprised at the opinion of Doddridge's intimate friend Sir James Stonhouse: 'Dr Doddridge was one of the most entertaining, lively companions I ever knew.'

Perhaps one of the chief reasons for John's going to Northampton was the strong recommendation of the Academy which Lord Kilkerran received from his friend, the brave and pious Colonel James Gardiner. He was an intimate friend and correspondent of Doddridge, and his son David was one of the pupils at the Academy. It was with an introduction from him that Lord Kilkerran despatched his first letter to the Doctor.¹

Edinburgh.² November 10, 1743.

REVEREND SIR

As the education of my children in a right way is what I have much at heart, and as I foresee many dangers attending the usual method of sending young gentlemen to the Universitys, I have been long of opinion that the better way is to have them taught in a privat accadamy, where they are under the immediat inspection of virtuous people who will be no less watchful over their morals than over their literature. But as there is a difference even among these, my difficulty has for some time been where to fix; but I no sooner thought of you, than, from the character you bear, without one moment's hesitation I determined to put my eldest son under your care; and to which my wife and I were not a

¹ Printed by J. D. Humphreys in *The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge*, D.D., vol. iv, pp. 285-8. I follow Lord Kilkerran's rough draft, which includes several passages omitted by Humphreys.

² MS.: 'Kilkerran.'

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little encouraged when upon further enquiry we learned that we might be assured of the great care Mrs Doderidge takes of the young gentlemen in her family. Meantime, as I do not know whether you may not be in use to take only a certain number, I could not think of sending the boy directly till I should know if ther were place for him in your family, and till I should also inform you what progress he has already made and be informed by you of some other particulars, which is the occasion of giving you the present trouble.

The boy is going seventeen since July last, and after being taught Latin and Greek at a publick school¹ with the assistance of a tutor, has been one year at the University of Edinburgh, and two years with M^r Maclairn,² Professor of Mathematicks, whose name will not be unknown to you. What his proficiency has been in the languages I shall not anticipat your judgement, and as they are of great use in life, especially the Latin, for the study of the Roman law, to which I intend he shall apply himself, I hope it will not be out of your way to improve him in the knowledg of that language. The Greek I know you are more fond of in England than we are here, and for gentlemen educated for the Church it is absolutely necessary, but otherways I consider it only as a part of the belles lettres, and as such should be glad if he made some proficiency in it tho' the other be more necessary for him. Had it not been for the resolution I have taken of intrusting him with you, he had gone this winter to the Moral Philosophy class in the University here, which I consider as a valuable part of instruction, and which I am fully persuaded he will find with you. I must add as to the boy himself that he has always lived under the eye of a virtuous mother and is addicted to no

¹ The High School of Edinburgh.

² Colin Maclaurin (1698-1746), who succeeded James Gregory in the Chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh in 1725; author of *Geometria Organica*, *Treatise of Fluxions*, and other works.

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vice to me known, and if I am not partial as we are apt to be to our own, he has genius. Inattention is a fault incident to most young people, which he may be more readily cured of when among strangers than when at home.

When I have said so much I would not be understood as prescribing rules to you as to the method you are to take with him, or the particular studies you are to employ him in, when he comes, for tho' I have thought it not amiss to let you know what he has been doing, yet I leave it intirely to yourself how to employ him when after a little experience you shall have discovered what proficiency he has made.

There is one thing I desire to be advised in by you, whether I should send a servant along with him, or if he may not be provided in any little service he may want, without putting me to that expense. I grudge nothing that is proper nor would I chuse to do any thing that is unnecessary; my own objection to it is, that as I hope for a great improvement in his language, which in this country is wretchedly bad, I am affraid a Scotch servant might do him harm that way, and a discreet boy of your choice may do better, if a servant be necessary.

There is one loss in my waiting for your return—that the season is far advanced, and that my son's coming up will take some time, by which means he loses so much time, your colledges for this season being no doubt begun some time ago, but there is no help for it, he is now of a proper age and must go this season, or not at all.

I expect you will have a letter from my friend Collonel Gardiner by this post to introduce me to you, without which this letter from one intirely a stranger to you must look a little odd, but I am hopeful that in a little time we shall be better acquainted. I am, with great esteem,

Reverend Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

J. FERGUSSON

JOHN FERGUSSON

Dr Doddridge replied to this letter on 19th November, with effusive gratitude 'to those good friends who have so kindly recommended me to the favour of so considerable and so excellent a person.' He declared his willingness to accept John immediately as a pupil, and outlined some suggestions for his accommodation as well as his teaching:

It will be no difficulty to find room for M^r Ferguson in my house; my chief concern is that as all the best apartments of it are taken up, I must be obliged for a few months to lodge him in a chamber which tho' tolerably commodious is not so handsome as I should have wish'd it for a gentleman of his dignity and education. But he will soon according to the rules of the family have an opportunity of exchanging it for the better, and in the mean time will I hope excuse a circumstance inseparable from his coming so late in the session and on so short warning.

I intirely agree with your Lordship in judging that considering the station of life for which he is intended it will be of much greater importance for him to have a command of the Latin than of the Greek language. He may have pretty good opportunities of improving himself in both under my worthy assistant M^r Brabant,¹ who reads classical lectures every day in a very accurate and judicious manner.

I have a class which is to begin Natural Theology in a few weeks, and I will endeavour to contrive matters so that it may not be till M^r Ferguson comes. They will afterwards, probably about Lady Day, enter upon Moral Philosophy, and so go on to the Proof of Christianity which I think I may venture to say is here more largely and accurately exhibited than in any other place of education I have ever heard of. And I presume, Sir, that

¹ Thomas Brabant, from Bloxham in Oxfordshire, had become a pupil of Doddridge in 1740 (Humphreys, vol. v, p. 550).

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considering the scenes through which the young gentleman may probably pass and the company with which he must necessarily converse, you will judge it expedient that he should add this course of lectures to the former. To these will be added Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Anatomy, Jewish Antiquities, and Ecclesiastical History, which will I hope be entertaining and ornamental tho' the view be but transient, and I apprehend, Sir, that these things will give him full employment till midsummer twelvemonth if you think it proper he should continue with me so long.

The orders of my family are strict, which I daresay will be no objection to your Lordship and I hope none to him. I am up with my pupils by six in the morning both winter and summer. We meet at stated times for prayer and lecture when the names are called over and punctual attendance insisted upon to a minute. No one is allowed to stay out after ten in the evening nor to go out of town without my express consent or that of M^r Brabant in my absence. I mention nothing of the rules as to the times and places of meals because as I suppose the gentleman will be what we call a parlour boarder he will fare as I do and be of course under my continual eye.

Your Lordship I presume knows my terms. It cannot, I suppose, be thought unreasonable that besides the six guineas per annum for teaching, I have twenty for the board of those who not only breakfast and sup with me in the parlour but also have a chamber to themselves. Such gentlemen also bring two pair of sheets and pillow-beers. And all the pupils find their own candles for their studies and fire for their own chambers and put out their linnen to be washed. The guinea to the library and that to the apparatus go to a publick stock and will be the perpetual property of an academy here and are accordingly vested by my will in proper trustees to whom I have left almost all my books for this purpose.¹

¹ Doddridge's will is printed by Humphreys (vol. v, p. 540).

JOHN FERGUSSON

I can see no manner of necessity for M^r Ferguson's bringing a servant with him to continue here. It would be much cheaper to hire a boy to perform any occasional services, nor will it be necessary to bring many books considering how many of my lectures are MSS. and how easily common copies of the classicks may be purchased here and disposed of when he leaves us.

My wife charges me with her best compliments to your Lordship and to good Lady Ferguson in which I most heartily join. She is very thankful for the kind sentiments with which you are pleased to honour her. We are indeed very happy in her as a family, and I flatter myself that if M^r F. can be content (as I daresay he will) with the plainness of colledge commons and the want of the elegancies which in so large families, especially among so many youths,¹ cannot be secured, he will have a pleasant abode amongst us. I can truly tell him for his comfort most of my pupils have been sorry to leave me and we seem to live as comfortably as most of our neighbours.

I rejoice to think that he comes immediately from the care of such wise and pious parents (for I am no stranger to the character of the family). This encourages me to hope that he will bring with him a disposition to apply to business, and that he will think no restraints uneasy which are necessary to the safety and credit of a society like that over which I have the honour to preside. . . .

The end of this letter is given as a sufficient specimen of Doddridge's usual manner of winding himself to a conclusion. The reader will be spared further examples of the good Doctor's verbose compliments and prayers for the well-being of his correspondents.

I have been obliged to write in great hast, the effects of which I beg your Lordship will excuse, as also that

¹ There were 63 pupils at the Academy this year (Parker, pp. 82, 153).

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neither my time nor paper permit me to express as I could wish my high veneration for you, the sense I have of my obligations to you and the ardent wishes I form for the continuance of your health, usefulness, and happiness, and the prosperity of all your family; particularly of that amiable and important branch of it which I hope to see so soon transplanted into my own. In the mean time I conclude with my most affectionate compliments to him, begging that he will make all the haste he can to

My Lord

Your Lordship's most faithful, most
obedient and obliged humble servant

P. DODDRIDGE

P.S.—I am not altogether without hope of seeing Mr Dickson with Mr Ferguson, which for the sake of them both as well as for my own I could earnestly wish. Should your Lordship mention my name to him or to my other very dear and much honoured friend Collonel Gardiner, I beg it may be with my humble services to both. Pardon me that I beg your care of the inclosed.

David Dickson had been one of Dr Doddridge's pupils at Northampton in 1741. He was the second son of a Peeblesshire laird, William Dickson of Kilbucks. His elder brother John, an advocate, had told Dr Doddridge something of Lord Kilkerran about the time their correspondence began:

. . . My Lord Kilkerran (by birth only Sir James Fergusson) is a gentleman of good estate, who by his own activity and merit got into Parliament, and then was named one of the lords of the Session, which is the supreme court here, and whose judges have the highest character and power in the nation. On the bench his character is good for his knowledge of the laws; and his

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integrity and address equal to any of his brethren; he is in no way fanatical, nor more superstitious than any politician of this world should be. . . .¹

David Dickson seems to have been an obliging sort of person, to judge from his letter to Lord Kilkerran of 9th December, in which he offered to accompany John to Northampton if Mr Spence, an Edinburgh merchant described by Lord Kilkerran as 'an honest discreet man,' were unable to do so. Dickson explained that he made this offer from both 'keenness to have him yonder as to a place of the best education to honour and happiness in both worlds, and meer civility,' adding humbly, 'tho' I could only be useful to him on the way, for thereafter no advantage could be had from me nor will any be wanting, and the converse with any in the Scotch dialect might be hurtful.' He held himself ready to start 'on a day's advertisement. . . . I can come to Edinburgh on Munday and go next day. Your Lordship in this case will only take the trouble of letting me know your mind by the shortest line which will come to my hand at Kilbucks on Sabbath if it is putt into the post-house any time of Saturday's night directed for me by Biggar post; otherways this will need no return.' He concluded with a brevity which Dr Doddridge might have studied to advantage:

I am, my Lord, with greater respect than perhaps in good manners is proper in many words to express,

Your Lordship's most humble servant

DAVID DICKSON

Mr Spence, however, was John's actual escort to Northampton.

'I am in daily expectation,' wrote Doddridge to his

¹ Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 285.

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friend, the Rev. Samuel Clark, on 15th December, 'of a pupil from Scotland, who is likely to add to the reputation of my Academy. He is the son and heir of the Lord Kilkerran, one of the lords of the session, and who has entertained such kind sentiments of me that he has determined to place the young gentleman under my care, though the advantages of their universities must, in many respects, be much greater.'¹ John probably arrived at Northampton a day or so afterwards. A letter from his father which followed him apologised for the delay of his start. (The draft bears no date.)

REVEREND SIR

As you was so good as to say in yours that you would contrive matters so as not to begin your lectures on natural theology till my son came, I was in pain every day his going was deferred. But as we have no coach that goes from this place but when hired on purpose,² and that such as do go never go the Nottingham road, I found it necessary to send him down by riding and thought it lucky to find the occasion of M^r Spence, a merchant of Edinburgh, going to London, an honest discreet man, who will see him set down at your house. I was indeed in hopes that he was to have gone ten days sooner, otherways I had acquainted you of the reason of his stay.

It is with great truth you say that my committing my son to your care at so great distance from myself and from every other body concerned in him is the most convincing proof of the confidence I have in you. And I am quite satisfied that it is well placed. The account you gave me of your manner of education I altogether approve, and am hopeful the rules of your

¹ Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 298.

² See H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, revised ed., 1928, pp. 43-4. In 1754 there was a stage-coach which started from the Grassmarket once a month, and took not less than twelve days to reach London.

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family will be no restraint to him, who never in life was out of my house till ten of the clock at night, but when with myself, or ever shewed an inclination to it.

The time I propose he should be with you is just what you mention, midsummer twelvemonth. In which time I flatter myself with hopes of seeing such a change upon him as may induce others to follow [him to]¹ collidg. Folks I find a little uneasy at it, and have been at some pains by neighbors to divert me from it, but as the more I think of it the more I find myself inclined to ascribe it to a happy direction, these little artifices were all in vain.

I am glad to find that along with the other studys in which the youths are employ'd there are constant classical lectures, for the command of the Latin is what I am much concerned he should have. After my letter was gone I was affrayd you should misconstrue what I said about the Greek, but I see you understood me as I meant it, that the Latin was of more importance to him. I should be sorry he were in that respect like Accursius,² one of the ablest civilians of his time, who when in his commentaries [he] comes to a passage of Greek, whereof there are a few in the folios, says that *haec Graeca sunt quae nec legi nec intelligi possunt*.³ As for your terms they are extreemly reasonable, and you may be assured I intend him for a boarder of the best kind. His being under your continual eye is [the] great inducement I had to commit him to you, and think myself quite safe when I devolve my paternal power upon you.

My wife has ordered him to give 4 guineas to M^{rs} D[oddridge] in place of the linen, and which it is hoped will be equally acceptable. She is the more anxious

¹ MS. torn.

² Franciscus Accursius (Accorso) lived from 1182 to 1260 and was a famous Italian jurist. Born at Florence, he first studied in his native city and was afterwards appointed professor at Bologna. He was considered the foremost authority of his time on Roman law, his most celebrated work being his commentary on Justinian, known as the *Glossa ordinaria* or *magistralis*, or the Great Gloss.

³ 'These words are Greek and can neither be read nor understood.'

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about him that as he has never been from under her own care, and so much accustomed to have his little affairs done for him, such as keeping his linen and the like, that if it were not too much trouble to M^{rs} Doderidge, she would beg her to act the part of a mother to him in that and every other respect. Notwithstanding the concern my wife shews in her letter to M^{rs} Doderidge she was no less forward than I in the prospect. Tho' the boy cannot be said to be very strong, he is far from being tender.

Another letter, the draft of which is endorsed 'January, 1744,' acknowledged Dr Doddridge's report that John had reached Northampton safely.

I was much pleased with the letter you wrote me upon my son's arrival at N[orthampton]; and with the plan you have made for his studys which he has transmitted to me. You have had yet but short time to form a judgement of him. Yet short as it is you can by this time make some guess of what we may expect, which I am at the same time fond to know and in some fear to ask. I have the better hopes that I find him extreamly well pleased with the manner of your family, in a letter he wrote his mother he told her he was as happy as he could wish and that particularly M^{rs} D[oddridge] is extreamly careful of him, which you may be sure gave her much content. I am unwilling to give you the trouble of writing often to me, but now and then as your time allows to let me know what you can would be agreeable, for the young gentleman's letters are very short, being but little accustomed to writing, for which he has had but little occasion till now. You have several friends here that have expressed great satisfaction to me upon hearing of my son's being committed to your care. And some of mine, not of your acquaintance, who have sons of their own, may probably take your measure as they

JOHN FERGUSSON

see me succeed. My wife joyns me in our compliments to M^{rs} D[oddridge]. . . .

Dr Doddridge's first report on his new pupil contained only the barest hint that John's work fell short of being satisfactory.

Northampton. Feb. 6, 174 $\frac{3}{4}$.

MY LORD

M^r Spence being in Northampton on his way to Edinburgh I thought it my duty notwithstanding that indisposition which has confined me to my chamber ever since Wednesday last to send you one line which I fully intended several days ago. I have hardly been just to my dear pupil or to your Lordship and Lady Jean, so long to delay the assurance I now give you of the great pleasure I daily receive from him. Nothing can be more sober, more regular, or more obliging than the whole of his conduct, and indeed when I consider his age I am astonish'd at his manly behaviour, accurate observation and extensive knowledge. On the whole, my Lord, he has render'd himself exceedingly dear not only to me and my wife who are grown quite fond of him, but also to many of my friends to whom, to divert him in his leisure hours, I have introduced him. I cannot say he is exceeding fond of the learned languages but he does something at the classicks every day and I think he improves especially in translating, and he certainly begins to talk English with advantage. In a word he is always lively and attentive, and I question not but that he is every day learning something, so that I hope if God spare our lives I shall give up my great account to your Lordship to our mutual satisfaction. Collonel Gardiner's son is also returned to me and behaves in a very agreeable manner.

I must conclude with my wife's compliments to your Lordship and Lady Jean with the young family in which

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I also most heartily join. My wife purposes to write to her Ladyship ere long but concludes it will be more agreeable to do it some other time than just now as it may give you another opportunity of hearing how happy we are and I daresay shall continue to be in our dear charge, who is with us just as if he were our own child, and would force us to love him as such if we were less obliged to it in duty. . . .

M^r Ferguson seems as happy and as chearful as he could be at home. He has had a bad cold in which my wife has nursed him very successfully so that he is pure well again.

A further report of John's progress reached Kilkerran in the middle of the following month. In it Doddridge made a suggestion for John's Easter holidays—there was no thought of his undertaking the long and laborious journey to Scotland in so short a vacation.

Northampton. March 3, 174 $\frac{3}{4}$.

. . . My dear pupil M^r Ferguson is pure well. I wish Lady Jean could see how jolly he looks and I wish every friend he has in the world could see how very well he behave[s]. He does some business—perhaps not quite so much as he ought but I believe it will be found his time is not quite lost and that he is every day reading some classicks and making some improvements in knowledge of other kinds. He behave[s] himself like a man and a Christian and I love him most tenderly. I have not a more virtuous and regular pupil under my care.

I apprehend your Lordship will agree with me that it is much to be wished he may write a much better hand than he does. We have an excellent writing-master in town. I beg I may have your Lordship's commission to engage him to attend my young friend an hour every day.

I am under an engagement by promise to visit a very agreeable and valuable set of friends which I have in

JOHN FERGUSSON

Norfolk and Suffolk and the adjacent parts this summer vacation if God spare my life. I am fond of having my dear charge near me and it may perhaps be for his health and improvement to make the turn. If your Lordship be of that opinion I beg I may know it. I will in that case buy him a horse, which will be cheaper than hiring one, and I should also propose that he have a servant to attend him in the journey, and perhaps a livery coat in that case may not be amiss considering some of the families we may chance to visit. We shall take care to see what is most curious in the parts through which we pass, and it may be a little essay for more distant travels hereafter.

I had the pleasure to introduce M^r Fergusson last week to Sir Thomas Abney, one of the Justices of the King's Bench,¹ when he was here on the circuit. He invited us both to dine with him and the grand jury and treated the young gentleman with great respect. I am charged with his compliments to your Lordship and the assurance of his best wishes for your growing comfort in this amiable and promising branch of your family. . . .

I have had the honour of a most agreeable visit from M^r Lockhart and his lady,² which I am to number among my many obligations to Lord Kilkerran.

¹ 'A very worthy man, learned in his profession, and of great integrity' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlix, p. 482). He was a younger son of Sir Edward Abney, M.P., LL.D., of Willesley, Derbyshire. He had been a Justice of the Common Pleas since February of this year.

Sir Thomas died on 19th May 1750, after 'the Black Assizes,' when some twenty people who had attended the trials at the Old Bailey died of 'malignant fevers' transmitted, 'as it is thought, by some infection from the stench of the prisoners' (*London Magazine*, vol. xix, p. 235). Among the others who died were the Lord Mayor of London, an alderman, and several sheriffs, lawyers, and jurymen.

² 'M^r Lockhart' was Alexander Lockhart of Craighouse (1701-1782), whose sister Grace, married first to the third Earl of Aboynce, and secondly to the eighth Earl of Moray, had been a friend of Lady Jean's in their girlhood; she died in 1738. 'His Lady' was Margaret Pringle (d. 1768), daughter of Thomas Pringle, w.s., and sister of Lord Edgefield.

Lockhart was the second son of George Lockhart of Carnwath, and grandson of Sir George Lockhart the Lord President. His wife was a beautiful woman, whom he married 'for love without a fortune, which made them be called "the handsome beggars"' (*Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 132).

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Doddridge's next letter, written on 1st May, discloses that Lord Kilkerran had not yet sent his sanction to the scheme for John's holiday. 'I by no means urge it,' wrote Doddridge, 'and only mention'd it as what might possibly conduce to his safety and improvement.' He asked, however, for an immediate answer, in view of the ten days or so which letters took to pass between Edinburgh and Northampton—'I set out in a little more than a month and some preparations must be made if M^r Ferguson attends me.' Most of this letter was taken up by a further and somewhat less enthusiastic report on John's progress in his studies.

. . . As M^r Ferguson's health is tender his application cannot be very close nor his improvements remarkably great in the languages, for which to say the truth he don't seem to me to have much relish, but he understands things very well, and judges admirably for his years. . . .

I take such care of him, my Lord, as my other engagements will admit, yet I cannot say I am perfectly satisfied with the method in which he is. In ethicks and astronomy he does very well, and hears some other lectures which I hope may improve him, but my chief dissatisfaction is in respect to the languages. He reads Tully *De Natura Deorum*¹ and *De Finibus* and Suetonius and Xenophon and sometimes lessons from Horace and

He himself was an exceptionally brilliant and industrious advocate, who distinguished himself in many famous causes. J. P. Wood, the genealogist, gives an almost contemporary account of him: 'He practised at the bar 52 years with the highest reputation. The labours of his pen were almost incredible, even to those who knew the strength of his constitution. He seemed to think that he could not work too hard for his clients. During the winter session, for a long period of years, he always rose at four o'clock in the morning' (National Library of Scotland MS. 37.2.4). He became Dean of Faculty in 1764, and was raised to the bench as Lord Covington in 1775, the long delay in his promotion being ascribed by Ramsay of Ochertyre to the fact that 'it was hardly possible for a man who dealt so freely in personalities and strong assertions to keep clear of quarrels' (*Scotland and Scotsmen*, vol. i, p. 135).

¹ John's copy of this book (the Foulis edition published at Glasgow in 1741) is now in the library at Kilkerran, with the inscription in his hand, 'Jo: Fergusson. Northampton, Jan^{ry} 23^d 1744.'

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Virgil, but I cannot say he seems solicitous to prepare them accurately, nor is he equal in the languages to some of his companions, which is a great disadvantage. I have sometimes thought that if for the next year one of the seniors who has gone through his course once and is taking it a second time (for such we have) were to spend one hour a day in reading accurately to him and with him what Latin and Greek he is to read in the class, and in reviewing exercises in English and Latin interchangeably, it would be of a great advantage and abundantly counterbalance the expence of some little acknowledgement of perhaps two or 3 guineas to be made to such a private tutor. This I submit to your Lordship's consideration. 'Tis what is generally done at our universities and in a much more expensive way. I have already committed him to one of his class fellows who every day reads the lecture to him a second time and talks it over with him. . . .

If he travel with me we will take Tully with us and read some every day at odd times as we have opportunity. He makes very just remarks upon it and will I hope be much established in his attachment to Christianity by seeing the miserable blindness of so great a man where Divine things are in question. . . .

About the middle of June, Lord Kilkerran having given his approval, Dr Doddridge and his pupil set out on their tour of the south-eastern counties of England. The horse, the servant, and the livery coat had all been obtained, and Doddridge was looking forward to showing off his young charge to his friends, in the intervals of pointing out to John the flowers of English architecture and the miserable blindness of Cicero. 'He will be a charming companion,' wrote the Doctor to Lord Kilkerran on 11th June, just before they started, 'and I am sure where ever he comes will do an honour to your

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Lordship's family, having as much of the behaviour of a well bred gentleman as it is possible to imagine, and more than I remember to have seen in so young a person any where else. He has read the best geographical accounts of places through which we are to pass and made extracts from them, as to what is to be seen and to be inquired after. A vacation in the tutor's absence is so dangerous a time that I am made much easier by having so inestimable a treasure as I account him to be always in my sight, and I give your Lordship and good Lady Jean the pleasure of telling you that he looks quite fresh and jolly. . . . If your Lordship pleases to honour M^{rs} Doddridge with a line now and then in my absence she . . . will know how to inform us of the health of the family about which my self and pupil cannot but be tenderly concerned.'

They went first to Ipswich and Colchester, were at Cambridge on 20th June, at Newmarket on the 22nd, and at Bury on the 24th. At first they had the proverbial weather of an English summer. 'I rode,' wrote Doddridge to his wife, 'in three coats, because of the rain, from Cambridge to Ely. . . . We saw Ely Minster, which is very fine.'¹

One incident of John's behaviour, alluded to in a later letter, seems to have caused Dr Doddridge a little embarrassment, though he did not mention his feelings in the letter he wrote to Mrs Doddridge from King's Lynn on 11th July, after they had visited Yarmouth and Norwich:

Yesterday morning at five o'clock we set out with M^r Wilkinson and Miss Scott² in a chaise, and had a very

¹ Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 339.

² Elizabeth Scott, daughter of Doddridge's friend and correspondent the Rev. Thomas Scott, of Norwich. She married a Colonel Williams in 1750.

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pleasant journey, first to Lord Townsend's, and then to the seat of the Earl of Orford (once you know the celebrated Sir Robert¹) which we viewed with inexpressible pleasure: such paintings and furniture on the whole I never saw; the elegance and magnificence of every thing about us was such, as not only excited delight but amazement. And you may suppose I was not a little surprised to receive a message from his Lordship, with his compliments to me and M^r Fergusson, and a very obliging invitation for us to take up our quarters with him: it was late in the evening, but I thought it incumbent on me to wait on his Lordship, who received me with great civility amidst a circle of the nobility and gentry. M^r Fergusson, bent on to-day's journey, excused himself from breakfasting with the Earl, which he invited us to do, and we parted after some general conversation, of which, when we meet, I hope to give you a farther account. . . .

But the disappointment of not breakfasting in a circle of the nobility and gentry was partly erased by a sight of the curiosities of King's Lynn.

We saw, at Castle Rising, the finest ruin we have met with in all our travels; and we have viewed this elegant town and some of its ancient *regalia*:—there is a golden cup which King John presented to the Mayor, and the sword of state with which he girt him; we drank the King's health out of it, with some peculiar ceremonies proper to the occasion. Fond of fish, and at a seaport, we ordered a dinner of soles and smelts, which proved worse than some I have eat at Northampton; and we have been so very unlucky as not to meet with one shrimp in a place almost as famous for them as Hull. As for our health, I bless God, mine is perfect, and M^r Fergusson's² finely recovered.

¹ Walpole.

² Humphreys, vol. iv, pp. 342-3.

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After staying a night at Swaffham, where there was an excellent inn, the Doctor and his pupil rode 'forty miles, thirty-six of them in the rain, and were wet through and through,' and spent the night of 18th July at Framlingham. Two days later they were at Stoke Newington, near London, and on the following day Dr Doddridge sent Lord Kilkerran an account of their travels. Andrew Parminster, alluded to in this letter as their companion during a part of the journey, was a Somerset youth who had entered Doddridge's Academy in 1740. Later in life he became a Moravian preacher. Neither he nor the other people mentioned by Doddridge can have been very lively companions for John; but with new faces and new scenes, the novelty of the snug East Anglian villages and the astonishing flatness of the English countryside compared with the familiar hills of Ayrshire and the Lothians, leading up at last to the spacious splendour of London, John must have found plenty to entertain his mind.

Newington, near London. July 21, 1744.

. . . Divine providence has now conducted us in perfect safety thro' the greatest part of our tour. I have amidst frequent labours, as well as the exercise of riding for near six weeks two days in threc, enjoyed uninterrupted health, and M^r Ferguson has had no complaint but a little swelling on his gum which has alternately sunk and risen two or three times. We have seen what is most curious and entertaining in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and have met with a great deal of civility and hospitality in all those counties so that I don't think we have lodged at an inn one night in three or made one meal in four at any publick house, but our horses have been generally put up at inns, and as we have changed our quarters

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almost every day and sometimes several times in a day, dining at one house and supping at another, the necessary compliments to servants have been an unavoidable expence yet by no means equal to what we should have been subjected to had we been constantly at inns. . . .

I have taken the best care of my dear pupil that I possibly could, and have been particularly solicitous that he should not be alone at inns which some times to young travellers in this licentious age are places of great temptation. It has in this view been particularly happy that we have had a third companion, M^r Parminter (one of my pupils, who has begun to preach and [is] one of the most eminently pious youths I have ever bred) who without giving the least umbrage has been constantly with M^r Ferguson at all publick houses in those few instances when private lodgings have not been offer'd us, and he is now in the same inn at London, which is by the way as sober and reputable a one as I know, the persons that keep it Dissenters and I hope religious persons. . . . I have in all stages of the journey excepting a very few had the pleasure of introducing him to very agreeable friends, persons of great piety, many of them of great learning too and most of them privately educated, in whom much might be seen that was truly amiable and very little that was ill. . . . I could fill the remainder of this page with the names of ministers and others, the chief supports and ornaments of the Dissenting interests in the places where they live, who are now grown so fond of M^r Ferguson that I dare say they would every one of them be griev'd he should pass towns they belong to without calling upon them and accepting the hospitality of their houses. Sir Conyers Jocelain¹ and the Earl of Orford greatly regretted it that he could not conveniently accept their invitation of dining with the

¹ Sir Conyers Jocelyn (1703-1778), fourth baronet of Hyde Hall, Sawbridge-worth, Hertfordshire. He was appointed Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1745.

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former and lodging with the latter. Sir John Hartopp¹ appear'd greatly pleased with a short interview which he had with M^r Ferguson yesterday, and Lady Abney² at whose house we now lodge, and the celebrated Doctor Watts³ who lives with her here treat my dear pupil with very great respect and are much charmed with his manner of behaviour. We are to dine to-day with M^r Cooke so long resident in Turkey and now Governor of the Bank,⁴ and have such a train of invitations laid for us next week that I believe it will puzzle us to accept half of them. . . . M^r Ferguson looks charmingly, and sends his duty with other proper compliments with those of this most worthy and amiable family. . . .

The following day John himself wrote to his father from London. This is the earliest surviving letter of his, and from the allusion to Ipswich at the beginning sounds as though it were the first he had written home since leaving Northampton. There were many things he might have told his father, but all the events of his journey faded in his memory, and all the people and places he had seen appeared of little interest, compared with the thrilling and eerie story of Grace Pet, the witch

¹ Sir John Hartopp (1680–1762), fourth baronet of Freathby in Leicestershire. He was twice married but died without issue and was buried at Stoke Newington, where he seems to have had a house.

² Second wife of the elder Sir Thomas Abney, Lord Mayor of London, the patron of Watts (see below), who was the uncle of the judge mentioned previously (p. 42). Her maiden name was Judith Barr.

³ Isaac Watts (1674–1748), the well-known hymn-writer. He had been tutor to Sir John Hartopp at Stoke Newington from 1696 to 1701. In 1712 he visited Sir Thomas Abney at Theobalds, and a friendship sprang up between him and the Abneys which 'led to a proposal from them that Watts should reside permanently in their house; and the remainder of his days were spent under their roof, either at Theobalds or at Stoke Newington, to which Lady Abney removed (1735) after the death of Sir Thomas Abney (1722). The kindness of the Abneys gave him a sheltered and luxurious home' (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

⁴ Thomas Cooke, a 'Turkey merchant' and a director of the Bank of England, 'a gentleman of extensive charity.' He died on 22nd August 1752, aged eighty, having directed that he should be given a pauper's funeral (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxii, p. 385).

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of Ipswich, and her delightfully horrible death from 'spontaneous combustion.' This tale accordingly formed the sole topic of his letter.

DEAR PAPPA

I'm now pretty well recover'd and since my [last I]¹ have been at Ipswich and had an opportunity of examining into the amazing phaenomenon of a human body consum'd to ashes. The unhappy wretch who perish'd in this miserable manner was a saylor's wife and had a very bad carактер, she us'd dreadful imprecations, and had the name of a witch. The story was sworn before a Justice of Peace. About 6 months before this strange accident happen'd, as a farmer was ploughing by her house, a little dog he had with him bit some fowls that came on the land, she came and told him he had better let that alone. Not many days after his sheep were taken in a strange manner, danc'd about so that never the like was seen. The man was advised to burn one of the sheep so taken; the man was very unwilling but was at last persuaded to allow his wife to burn a sheep so affected.

The next morning was this woman found burnt in the following manner. She had been very merry the evening before with her gossips, and at the midle of the night as she made a constant practice she rose from her husband to smoke a pipe or as others said to go a-conjuring, but not returning as usual her daughter at 6 o'clock in the morning went down to see[k] for her, but entring the room she to her infinite surprize saw her lying at her length on the floor all transparent in a glow. She shriek'd out and in came some of the neighbours, they threw water upon her but there rose such a stench that they were not able to bear the room. The woman was entirely burnt to the anckles where her stockings were not sing'd and the flesh as cut of[f] by a knife. Some of

¹ MS. torn.

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her bones were burnt to ashes but most retain'd the form of bones. Part of her body lay on stone, the rest on wood, the stone so as it can't be cleaned, the wood not sing'd; the body was shovell'd into the coffin. Many different judgments are form'd of this matter. I shou'd be glad to have yours, therefore I send you nothing but what was attested before a Justice of Peace.¹

I am, dear Pappa,

Your most dutiful and obedient son

JN^o. FERGUSSON

This remarkable tale seems to have been all the news that Lord Kilkerran received from his son at this time. A letter from Dr Doddridge written from London on 1st August told him that 'as M^r Parminter is returned to Northampton, and consequently the inn grown on that account much less agreeable if not less safe,' it had been arranged for John to stay for a few days with Mr Cooke, the philanthropic banker, and thereafter with a Mrs Arbuthnot, who, reported the Doctor, 'has the honour of being well known and professes her self greatly obliged to your Lordship,' and accommodated John 'in a fine large airy chamber.' A visit to Oxford was to be the next part of the tour; 'and we hope,' pursued the Doctor, with a truly pedagogic use of the first person plural, 'by that time this reaches your Lordship's hand to be at Northampton, return'd after a very agreeable tour to pursue business with repeated ardour, and trust that your Lordship will give us a word of proper exhortation that the studies of our new approaching session may be pursued with all the vigour health will permit.'

They were at Northampton again by 10th August, on which date John wrote his father a letter which has

¹ Dr Doddridge saw the place of the witch's death and heard the story of it from eye-witnesses. See Humphreys, vol. iv, pp. 340, 345.

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not been preserved but whose substance may be guessed from Lord Kilkerran's reply to it. John announced his return 'to a vigorous course of study,' and promised shortly to send a statement of his expenses during his holiday. Letter-writing, however, was a laborious task to John, and several weeks went by with no further word from him. Lord Kilkerran had to be content in the mean time with a long letter from Dr Doddridge, which he somewhat sardonically endorsed 'From the Doctor, Aug. 28, 1744, with an account of the great folks they saw in their travels.' It began by describing their visit to Oxford.

. . . We were received in the most obliging manner by persons of the first rank and character among the clergy and professors there and entertain'd with a rich variety of curiosities. On the whole I apprehend that few strangers have seen both the universities on their travels with greater advantage. This would of course draw after it some expence (in which I took my full share as I judged it fit I should) yet seemed to me on the whole a right thing especially for a young gentleman intended to travel abroad, who may view other countries with more improvement and with more honour when he has surveyed what is most celebrated in his own.

Most of this letter, however, is occupied with reflections on John's industry and behaviour, and behind the occasionally pompous phrasing and somewhat over-earnest solicitude, there is evident the genuine zeal of the teacher for his pupil as well as a rather charming affection.

I feel unspeakable pleasure in your Lordship's satisfaction as to M^r Fergusson's situation here. Indeed I love him quite with a parental fondness, and I plainly see that I have no small share in his heart. My chief fear is lest my tenderness for him should make me too

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indulgent to that indolence of temper which thro' all that tenderness I too plainly discern. I am labouring to bring him in love with books and he spends a pretty deal of time in reading and attending lectures in ethicks and philosophy and reads daily with my assistant Latin, Greek, or both, but I live in hope of seeing yet greater effect of those wise and seasonable admonitions which your Lordship gave him in your letter inclosed in my last. I am diligently watching all the infirmities of his temper to apply the gentlest yet most suitable remedies. Too great consciousness of his superiority of birth and rank, and of superiority of wit too with respect to most with whom he converses, produces some effects which require lessons of humility. A negligence (tho' quite consistent with good humour and good meaning) as to some forms of complaisance practised among well-bred persons in these parts once gave me some uneasiness, but one free conversation after a cloud of an hour or two wrought all the effects I could wish. I give your Lordship these hints knowing your wisdom will improve them without any insinuation which should lead him to think I have been making any complaints, which indeed I don't mean to do, perhaps it was not necessary I should have mentioned these things at all but I am solicitous even to anxiety that there may be nothing in his temper or behaviour that shall not be amiable and charming.

My Lord, I must now conclude with my compliments and my wife's to your self and lady and with my best thanks for your kind invitation to Kilkerran which I could wish to accept next summer. Yet I much doubt whether I shall be able to do it, as I am obliged by articles with my printer to deliver the third volume of the 'Family Expositor' by next August,¹ and I fear I shall

¹ It was not, however, published till 1748. Lord Kilkerran bought (see p. 61) a complete set of this, one of Doddridge's most popular works. It is now in the library at Kilkerran.

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hardly be able to compleat it before the beginning of our long vacation, should life and health be prolonged. . . .

The postscript of this letter returned once more to some details of the tour.

The young gentleman presents his duty and other compliments as due. The Earl of Orford was the person your Lordship knew by the title of Sir R. Walpole. I was a little surprized at the disinclination M^r Fergusson shew'd to waiting upon him. He fancied the Earl meant it for a mere compliment. I waited on the Earl my self and made the best apology I could. I had his compliments to your Lordship with those of the Bishop of Oxford¹ with whom we dined. We shall dine with the Earl of Halifax next week, a most accomplished nobleman who honours me with his friendship and sent me the other day half as fine a buck as I ever saw.

George Montagu Dunk (1716-1771), second Earl of Halifax, was later to play a small but very important part in John's life. Politically, his star was at this time in the ascendant; he had been in opposition, as an adherent of the Prince of Wales, but in this year he joined the Pelham ministry as Master of the Buckhounds. He was a firm friend and great admirer of Dr Doddridge, and had supported and encouraged him during his dispute with the ecclesiastical authorities in 1732.² A story is told of a public dinner at Northampton, a few months before this date, at which Halifax and Doddridge were present. It illustrates both the somewhat ostentatious virtue of Doddridge and Halifax's opinion of him:

'The festivities of the evening had continued for some time with the utmost urbanity, when a party present

¹ Thomas Secker (1693-1768), later Archbishop of Canterbury. He was bred a Dissenter, but afterwards conformed.

² See p. 27.

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ventured to propose an unbecoming toast; it was drank by some persons, who afterwards regretted it, when Dr Doddridge, who was present, immediately arose, and placing a guinea in the hands of the waiter to defray his share in the extra charges of the evening, directly left the table. The circumstance caught the eye of Lord Halifax, who marked his sense of the incident, by observing, "There goes a Gentleman and a Christian."¹

The 'ardour' which John was to show on resuming his studies did not materialise, and before long Dr Doddridge became ruffled. John's 'want of application to the languages or to close study of any kind' perturbed his tutor excessively, and the fact that he conscientiously attended 'lectures of ethicks, astronomy, oratory, and ecclesiastical history' was no consolation. Even the satisfactory intelligence that 'he talks English very well for the time' was added only as a postscript to the Doctor's agitated letter of 12th September.

MY LORD

Pardon a hasty line which duty and love produces. I cannot persuade my dear pupil to that diligence which is absolutely necessary to make him a scholar and I am grieved at my heart to see so fine a genius sunk in indolence. Mornings are lost in bed, the small fine in that case being nothing to him,² sports followed, and sometimes mere sauntering preferred to business. The consequence of this is as your Lordship well knows we are out of humour with our selves, are in the way of many little pets, are not so much respected in the family as if our exercises &c. were duly performed, and sometimes feel our selves a little hurt by general advices relating to diligence &c. Your Lordship knows how wise

¹ Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 298.

² It was only a penny.

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we generally are at 17, how competent judges we are in our own cause and that of others, and consequently how fit it is that when a complaint is lodged it should be concluded with a menace. 'If this matter be not accommodated to my satisfaction, I will leave the family directly.' My Lord, I have treated my young friend with constant tenderness and constant respect, have been observant even of the punctilios of good breeding, and studious of his improvement in knowledge and virtue to the utmost. Yet I am sometimes solicitous lest I should either lose my pupil's affection or betray the trust your Lordship has imposed on me, of the importance of which God knows I am most deeply sensible, and suffer time to be lost and perhaps some ill habits contracted. I am the more concerned especially at that indolence which is the root of other evils, as he has now quite a fine opportunity. M^r Brabant my assistant is as great a critic both in Latin and Greek as any man I know among the Dissenters in England who undertakes to teach them. He has now very few under his care and so more leisure than ordinarily. He has offered to read any Latin or Greek book to M^r Ferguson that he chooses and has a classical lecture every day that he might attend. Yet he seems quite indifferent about the matter and I dare say takes very little pains even to prepare what he says, so others inferior to him in many respects do much better and this has influence enough to vex but not to reform. . . .

This news gave Lord Kilkerran, as he recorded in an endorsement to the Doctor's letter, 'no small vexation,' and his reply was promptly despatched before the arrival of a letter from John written the day after his tutor's. It was the promised sequel to his letter of 10th August, but was hardly of a nature to satisfy his father. Its arithmetic alone was shocking.

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Northampton. September 13, 1744.

DEAR PAPPA

The honour of a letter from Mamma I ought to answer, but I must content myself with assuring you that I remain your most dutiful and obedient son and so go on to my accompt.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Horse	5	0	0	Grass Hay & corn	0	12	6½
Spurs *	1	13	0	a Whip —	0	12	6
Wig	0	18	0	Sadle mending	0	1	0
Wig	1	5	0	a lisingurt	0	1	6
cutting hair	0	5	0	a Pelham Bridle	0	4	6
Washing	0	12	0	a Curry Comb & brush	0	3	6
mending	0	3	6	red britches mounting a			
				blue coat two White			
	10	16	6	Waistcoat [s]	1	17	11½
				making Livery	0	14	0
					3	17	6

* Bought at the Doctors request.

Total £ s. d.
 14 14 0

I put no more of the accompt here, you shall have the remainder in my next. Be so good as give my most humble duty to Grandmamma, Aunt and Mamma and my love to my brothers. I'm affraid you'll be dissatisfy'd with this senseless line, but when the mind is not easy there is no writing well.

I am

Dear and honor'd father

Your most dutiful and obedient son

JN^o. FERGUSSON

John's mind would have been even less easy if he had known the impatience with which his father had been awaiting this letter, and the fact that Dr Doddridge's complaint of the 12th had preceded it. The paternal thunders now descended on John's head in full measure:

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Kilkerran. 29th September, 1744.

JOHN

After your letter of the 10th of August from Northampton, when you tell me, you are now returned to a vigorous course of study, and promise an account thereof more particular, as also of your travels how soon you have got your accompts drawn out clear—I say after this letter I expected in a reasonable time a performance of your promise, but as six weeks are now elapsed without my hearing again from you I cannot dissemble my fears, that the indolence of temper, which I have oft complained of in you, yet prevails. I observed in that same letter (which otherways I was pleased with as it was wrote more like a man than your former letters used to be) you was a little snappish at my having complained of your writing so bad a hand. Let me intreat you to beware of answering snappishly to any admonitions you may receive from your parents; and indeed I am let by this to say, that when I see how you can in cool blood take my rebuke, I cannot be without fears that if that good man, whom I consider as in my place so long as you are under his care, shall have occasion at any time to admonish you, you may be yet more ready to give him a hasty answer, which should be very offensive and grievous to me. But to return to what I began with, I mean my apprehension of that indolence of temper and want of application, that very same letter of yours of which I have been speaking, tended to confirm me in my suspicion, for by it I see that if you take pains you can write something like a man, whereas the most of all your former letters, as well as that scraule which provoked me, were wrote liker a child a-learning at a country school than one that had been taught as you were. I can put no other construction on this but indolence and want of application. Do not mistake me as if all I have said, were only meant with respect to your writing. No, I only take occasion from this to show you

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my ground of suspicion with respect to your conduct in matters of more consequence, *ex ungue leonem*. Where it has pleased God to endue a child with a mean genius, it were inexcusable in a parent to upbraid him for it; but where he has genius, and in place of cultivating it by study and application misimproves it by idleness to say no worse (tho' that never fails to produce worse effects) then a parent becomes justifiable both in the sight of God and man to testify his displeasure, and I think I may without vanity say, few should have better title to do this than I. You know how some of my neighbours have been complained of, for neglecting the education of their eldest son, keeping him straitned and so forth. I resolved to avoid that cause of complaint, by bestowing liberally and giving the greatest encouragement, nor could I devise a method that appeared to me more likely to produce good effects, than that I have taken, by sending you among strangers who speak a language I could not teach you, by putting you into a discreet family, where you might acquire a habit of carrying [yourself] towards every person with good manners and complaisance, and by putting you under the care of one of the best of men and most able to instruct you, and with whom you have had an opportunity of seeing a considerable part of your native country to more advantage than I ever had. Should you in return to all this, return to me a mere country squire, I ask your self how you think I ought to take it?

I shall only add as to the languages, tho' they may, in themselves considered, appear a dry study, yet when acquired they are not only a pretty accomplishment, but which is more, they render the more usefull study of after life easy. A hint was made me by the Doctor some time before your vacation, that it might be of use to you, to have the assistance of some of the more advanced students who might be pleased with a moderat reward. I agreed to it, and wrote so to yourself, but you have

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never taken notice of it in any letter to me; what can I make of this but that you are indifferent about it? I confess this is but suspicion, but that I may be no longer in suspense I have by this post wrote the Doctor as he would answer the trust I have reposed in him, to tell me the truth, and the whole truth, with respect to your conduct, which I begin to think I have too long delayed when I reflect on the stile of his letters to me, which tho' full of the strongest expressions of love to you, and I must also own of strong general commendations of you, yet are more sparing of giving particular accounts of your proficiency than I should expect had he much to say.

I cannot conclude without adding, that even while I may have in what I have said hit upon part of the truth, it is not yet too late to amend; take but one half hour and think with yourself, what it is you propose in life. Is it to sit down with the attainments you fancy you already have and live upon what you expect from me, indifferent about bettering your condition? Or is it to rise in the world both in estate and in esteem with your neighbours? If the last is your project, which I hope it is, reflect how you are to attain it. Lay in ballance against each other, a little present labour on the one hand, and the future benefite from it on the other, tho' you should not at all consider my pleasure of seeing you do well, which is all the return I propose from the pains and expence bestowed on you. Reflect also that you are at present not so fit a judge for yourself, as others are, who have more experience. Could I but find you echo back to me an assent to those lessons with a firm purpose of complying, you should give me greater joy than I can express, and in hopes of it I continue

Your affectionat

PAPPA

The letter which Lord Kilkerran wrote on the same day to Dr Doddridge expressed his entire satisfaction

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that John should be under his care, but begged that the Doctor's reports should not 'rest in generals.'

. . . I shall not say but that you may perhaps suppose that I may take it for granted that he is behaving and profiting well when you do not say to the contrary, but I shall expect from henceforth that you write me in such a manner as may leave no doubts with me, that I may know the truth and the whole truth concerning his proficiency and behaviour in your house, that if good, I may have the satisfaction to know it, and if wrong that I may think of the best method to be taken, however disagreeable it may be both to my self and him.

As for the expence he was at in his travels, if he do well they will never be grudged nor indeed any expence that may be proper for him. . . . One thing however I think wrong, that you should have bore any part of the expence of his seeing curiosities which I presume were no new things to you and should therefore be all stated to his accompt. . . . Your gentleman's horse is I expect disposed of for the keeping of him would be but an inducement to idleness.

The letter concluded with polite congratulations on the forthcoming volume of the *Family Expositor* and a request to be included among the subscribers.

John seems to have taken his father's earnest admonitions to heart for a time. 'M^r Fergusson,' wrote Doddridge on the 3rd, 'seemed impressed with the letter, shew'd it to me in a very candid manner, and has ever since behaved, as indeed he generally did before, in a very tender and obliging way. . . . But I have been waiting these many days to inform you that he is grown very diligent, yet I am not able to speak as I would on that head.' 'The languages' were still the trouble. 'He draws back,' Doddridge complained, 'from all oportunities of

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reading the classicks, which he omits on one excuse or another for a whole week together.' Early in October the Doctor began a steady campaign of advice and admonition to induce John to tackle his studies with proper enthusiasm. He even put his adjurations in writing:

MY DEAR CHILD

I cannot express my grief for that indolent and sauntering manner of life into which you are got. It hurts your character, it cannot please God, and it makes it exceedingly difficult to me to know my duty. I would not write anything severe to Lord Kilkerran and I am yet more unwilling to betray one that I love so well as I do you and one whom I honour so much as I do him. Let me beseech you by all the friendship that is between us, to break thro' this silken chain with one vigorous struggle, and to be an example of strenuous application to the whole family from this day forward. Let not that fine genius which God hath given you dwindle into that contempt which the neglecting of such opportunities as you enjoy necessarily tends to bring upon you, nor make me unhappy in proportion to that visible distraction of fondness with which I am,

Dear Sir

Your faithfully affectionate friend
and obliged humble servant

P. D.

Keep this hasty line which love has dictated and let it be an apology for me some years hence when you will be ready to blame me for those deficiencies which you will then lament in your self.

Since even this appeal, with its indication of the nicely graded embarrassments of John, God, and Dr Doddridge, did not produce the desired effect, the conscientious

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tutor tried intenser methods. 'I have taken him,' he told Lord Kilkerran, 'into my study, addressed him with religious motives, pray'd with and over him just as if he had been my own child and all the happiness of my life had depended on his being recovered to diligence and a right conduct.' Strange to say, even this treatment produced only a temporary result. 'I cannot, my Lord, say he is unaffected, no, he weeps, and I am sure he loves me the better for this. But he is so very irresolute that the next day it seems to be forgotten.'

On 2nd November matters reached a crisis. John had, some weeks before, been ordered to write an essay—'a little dissertation on travelling considered as a part of a young gentleman's education. The advantages to be expected—the dangers to be apprehended—and the precautions to be taken to avoid the one and secure the other.' When, after many delays, John at length reported his composition to be finished, Doddridge asked to see it to 'correct it in order to its being transcribed.' This was in accordance with one of the fixed rules of the Academy, No. 7 in the Section 'Of Academical studies':

'Exercises are to be first written in a paper book, then reviewed and corrected by one of the tutors, after that, fairly transcribed, and after they have been exhibited in the manner which shall be appointed, a fair copy of them, with the author's name annexed, shall be delivered to the tutor.'¹

But the sequel shocked Doddridge to the depths of his orderly soul. 'Instead of shewing it to me as I desired . . . he sent a servant very civilly indeed, *with his duty to me*, to tell me that he was so ashamed of it that he had burnt it. This, my Lord, happened yesterday, and last night he put the inclosed letter under my study door. I

¹ Rules of Doddridge's Academy, Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

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thought it my duty to send it to your Lordship that you may consult what is best to be done.'

He enclosed John's letter, explaining that it was 'thus soiled and greas'd' when he received it, and writing at the top of it a note in which semi-parental affection and professional irritation are most characteristically blended: 'Your Lordship will please to read my letter before this and to conceal my sending it to you, and will I'm sure manage the matter so that the complaint I am forced to make of my dear amiable friend who is every day obliging me by a thousand civilities may not irritate him, which for his sake as well as my own I will not wish. I beg you to oblige him to learn to write. I have taught him shorthand which will be exceeding useful but it has hurt rather than improved his hand.'

John's letter follows.

Northampton. November 1st 1744.

REVEREND SIR

I think it incumbent on me to inform you that tho' my father intends I shou'd follow the law yet that there is nothing farther from my own desire and intention. I think it is a slavish business, the motives set before me by my father, who to be sure is a very wise man, have but little weight with me, such as acquiring a large estate, as I hope I shall have enough to live on without betaking myself to so fatiguing an expedient for more, but what the better am I for more than enough? I shall be able to do a great deal of good in the country tho' I don't practice the law. I intend to study the law as thinking it a very pretty accomplishment to be able to manage one's own business without upon every occasion having recourse to a cheating pettifogger.

Thus I hope you'll have the goodness to forgive my writing with so much freedom, at the same time I promise that while I have the happiness of being under

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your care I will endeavour to get some better acquaintance with the classicks and spend best part of an hour every day with M^r Brabant.

I hope you'll pardon my burning the oration. I did so that it might be out of my power to show, I was so much asham'd of it.

I am, Sir,

With all respect your obedient servant

JN^o. FERGUSSON

'It seems to me,' commented Dr Doddridge, 'that this is the very crisis of his life. I pray God to direct, and under Him I trust in your Lordship's wisdom, which I know to be so great. When I hint my opinion it is with great hesitation and great submission. I think he should by no means be indulged in this indolent habit. What if your Lordship were to tell him that you would receive no letter from him till you had heard from me that he had made his oration, and to intimate that your consenting to his return home at midsummer would depend upon his improvement of the intermediate time? . . . For tho' I am sure he loves us and has I think good reason to be as easy here as in any other place of education, yet I am sure he longs to see you and Lady Jean again. . . .'

The rest of Doddridge's long letter of 3rd November referred again to the expenses of the summer tour—'my share in the expence of seeing curiosities amounted to so little that I can hardly mention it to your Lordship, especially as some of them were such as I had not seen before'—and again expressed the hope of 'paying his duty' to Lord Kilkerran next year, and being, 'if you pleased to honour me so far, your domestick chaplain for a few days.' There was also a somewhat pointed allusion to David Gardiner, a model pupil, who 'im-

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proves greatly and presented me the other day with a very pretty essay on ancient and modern learning consisting of about 20 octavo pages. He understands the classicks remarkably well.'

After much thought Lord Kilkerran wrote two replies, one (on the cover of the second) for Doddridge's private eye, the other, in which he diplomatically incorporated Doddridge's own suggestions without giving any hint of their origin, designed to be shown to John. These letters were written from Edinburgh on 20th November.

REVEREND SIR

Your letter gave me so much uneasyness that it was some time ere I could determine myself what to write. Had I wrote immediately I had wrote in a sharp and bitter style, but after thinking better of it I chose the softer method and have taken care to write you in such a manner that you may shew it to him.

I begin to suspect his genius not to be what I imagined. Is it possible that the boy would not for his own credit have done something, and not to have been the only boy that failed, if he had found himself at all able for it?

The law, it is true, I propose he should follow, but if he should not have a turn for that, I should be complain'd of were I to take severe measures with him on that account; but whether he follow the law or not if he has common sense he will endeavour to be an accomplished gentleman, and he will find himself much mistaken if he proposes to be easy with me in an idle life so long as I live; but I durst not point out this in my letter least I should have given cause to suspect you had informed me of what you are desirous I should conceal. When this flash is over (and I know he is a little hasty in his temper) it were not amiss you tryed if this aversion to follow the law continues. He misstates it that an estate is the only view. It is the gentlemen who succeed in that profession

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who have the best chance to have the esteem and dependance of their neighbours, which in a man of spirit yields a satisfaction which a man of a much larger estate cannot enjoy.¹

Here follows the other letter, which John was to see.

REVEREND SIR

I have yours of the 3rd instant before me, which is so far agreeable as it says many good things in general of my son, his attending lectures of ethicks, Jewish antiquitys [&c.] with diligence and picking up knowledge in various things that may be useful and ornamental in life, and his behaving in an oblidging way towards you, with other expressions of a tender fondness for him. It is also a good sign to me that he takes my admonitions well, that he shewed you the letter which I wrote him some time ago containing some complaints and suspicions of him.

But, dear Sir, something is still wanting to give me that satisfaction I wish for. I have once and again asked you not to rest in generals but to be particular with me especially as to those things in which I suspect him to be most deficient; I told you when he first went to you, that I thought him lame in his knowledg of the classicks, I also in a special manner recommended to you to be sure to accustom him to something of composition which I have always heard your method of education in England praised for above ours, where little of that is minded, and I know nothing more useful to a man who proposes to make any figure in the world.

I have occasion to see Collonel Gardiner some times who has the pleasure to be able to say that his son understands the classicks remarkably well, [and] composes essays upon subjects given him which do him honour

¹ At the foot of Lord Kilkeran's draft of this letter is a note: 'The within from his mother was intended but was not sent'; but Lady Jean's letter has not survived.

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with his tutor and his fellow-students. You may safely guess how it affects me to find so particular [an] account come to others which had been too comfortable a piece of intelligence to have been withheld from me could it have been with truth given me of my son. I confess I did not ask Collonel Gardiner whence he had it. I was affrayd to ask least he had answered me that he had it from you, which should have affected me yet more.

I am willing to flatter myself with good hopes as long as I can, but unless I am no longer to resist the persuasion that he has not yet got the [better] of that indolence and disposition to idleness and sauntering which I have long complained of in him, and unless he gets the better of that he cannot please me, I have in the reasoning way talked and wrote to him till I am weary of it, and am now only to say, that albeit I propos'd he should return to this country about midsummer now next, in which time I expected he might with tollerable application [have] acquired a large show of that learning which was to be had from your house; yet if I do not find he answers my expectations in that, I do not know but I shall keep him with you a year more; and that will just depend upon the accounts which you shall from hereafter give me; and which I do insist upon it may be particular by letting me know at stated periods of a month or six weeks or so what he has read in that time, what little essay or oration he may have compos'd in that space, and from that and that only can I be satisfied that he has got the better of his indolence which as it is in his power to do I am determined by fair means or foul to have it cured, and am very sure if ever I live to see him a man I shall have his hearty thanks for it. . . .

There is one thing which I can by no means account for in him—I mean his writing. He was taught by a writing-master as good as most in England and many years ago wrote copeys remarkably well. . . . Yet from his letters one should believe he had been taught at a

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countray school, and in this also his indolence discovers itself for his mother has wrote him over and again to write his letters ten times over rather than send them not wrote fair and correct, yet in place of this they have come sometimes sullyed and greased, all of them poor writing, and the best of them with some words interlin'd and others wanting. Such was the very last I had from him in so much that I had the sense in some passages to guess at; now if [he] were not beyond measure indolent he would write every line as a copy rather than offend us in this as he does.

The last part of this letter complained again of John's not keeping accounts of his expenditure.

. . . He has in two late letters sent me some small parts of his travelling accounts which of all others I least wanted to be satisfied about as he was then under your eyes. . . . I do not know what the occasions are for extraordinary expence when at home, and might beg of you to enquire a little into it, for I am suspicious he trifles away his money, which is a natural consequence of idleness. . . .

These letters crossed one of Doddridge's written on 17th November, referring to one of Lord Kilkerran's which has disappeared. One of the rules of the Academy, in the Section 'Of Attendance on Family Prayer,' laid down that 'each pupil, after he hath entered on the second half year of his course, shall take his turn at family prayer in the evening. . . .' It appears that Lord Kilkerran felt slightly uncomfortable at the thought of his son, who was 'not designed for the ministry,' leading a congregation of English Dissenters in prayer, and had suggested that John might be excused compliance with this rule. Doddridge was quite ready to meet his wish.

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‘It is not absolutely insisted upon,’ he wrote, ‘yet where I can prevail upon young gentlemen to do it I think it may be on many accounts useful. I always reserve a power of dispensing with it and never require it at all before the Congregation, i.e. of 10 or 12 people who are with my family at Repetition on Friday night one part of the year, nor shall I ever refuse to excuse any young gentleman not intended for the ministry whose parents desire he may be excused.’

John’s progress in his studies was no better: ‘as to strenuous application to business things are as when I wrote last’; but his tutor’s affection for him was undiminished. ‘I have assuredly,’ he wrote in his most sentimental manner, ‘the heart of a father towards him, and such is the tenderness I feel on his account that my wife is always ready to rally me as if it came too near that of a mother’—and then, with one of his occasional touches worthy of Mr Collins in *Pride and Prejudice*, he added, ‘I hope good Lady Jean will pardon me the expression and the occasion of it.’

By the end of the year 1744 John appears to have somewhat pulled himself together, in spite of Dr Doddridge’s having been forced to give up supervising his studies on account of an illness so severe that his friend Dr Samuel Clark was actually approached to preach his funeral sermon.¹ It was not till 26th January 1745 that he was again able to write to Lord Kilkerran.

MY LORD

Your favour of the 8th of January² found me in a very languishing state but I bless God I am now finely recovered of a fever which gave my friends a painful alarm for me. . . .

. . . [Referring to John’s money affairs] I really think

¹ Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 376.

² Not preserved.

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his expences rise high and have desired him that he would not fail to let your Lordship know what he does with all this money. He has promised me to send you a particular account. My being cloyster'd up now three weeks above stairs has I fear been some disadvantage to him, but from all I can learn his behaviour has been very regular. I am sure it has been very obliging and he has express'd as affectionate a concern for me in my illness as any of my own children could have done and indeed this has been in a great measure the case with regard to all my pupils.

M^r F. has laid out four guineas to get copies of MSS lectures, in number about 260, of which each would have cost him more than an hour to transcribe.¹ He feared so much writing might hurt his breast. It is a most beautiful copy and will serve finely to profit him in his shorthand, as well as I hope be of great use to him in life. What your Lordship wrote last animated and comforted him not a little and I hope never to have cause so much as to intimate any future complaints. . . .

P.S.—I have just published a little piece of the *Rise and Progress of Religion*, which I hope to find a way of conveying to your Lordship and of which I shall beg Lady Jean's acceptance. M^r Fergusson is perfectly well, and sends his proper compliments.

Doddridge did 'find a way' of sending Lady Jean a copy of his *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, but the book has been mislaid since her death; at least it is no longer at Kilkerran. This was Doddridge's most popular publication, or, in its author's words, was 'the book which, so far as I can judge, God has honoured for the conversion and edification of souls more than any of my writings.' Its translations, which Doddridge might

¹ Doddridge made all his pupils learn a system of shorthand adapted by himself from that of Jeremy Rich, and each of them took away on leaving the Academy a full transcript of his lectures.

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well describe as 'far beyond my hope and expectation,' included not only French, German, Dutch, and Danish, but even Syriac and Tamil. But he did not rest on his laurels. By the middle of February he had finished the third volume of his *Family Expositor*—'the notes excepted.'

'We have not been quite idle' was the report on John's progress in Doddridge's letter of 13th March 1745. From the account of his studies which follows, the phrase seems something of an under-statement.

. . . He has read with me a system of astronomy which he seem'd thoroughly to understand so far as it goes. He has also gone through a whole and that pretty large system of pneumatology¹ and ethicks and is now attending a course of Jewish antiquities and of evidences of Christianity. Besides this he has read in Latin Tully *De Natura Deorum* and Suetonius throughout; most of his Tully *De Officiis* and some of his book *De Finibus*, a good deal of Xenophon's *Cyropædia* in Greek, and is beginning that curious and difficult book of Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, which he is to read with me in the evening. He has also read general volumes of history, English and French, and particularly all Rapin² as well as Harrington's *Oceana* and several other English books, which I hope have improved as well as entertained him; and I shall, God willing, between this and midsummer carry him thro' a whole course of experimental philosophy.³

¹ 'The doctrine of spiritual existence.'—Johnson's *Dictionary*.

² Paul de Rapin de Thoyras (1661–1725) was a French Protestant who fought for William of Orange at Carrickfergus, the Boyne, and the siege of Limerick. He settled in Holland in 1707 and devoted the rest of his life to historical work. His great *History of England*, in eight volumes, published at The Hague in 1724, was, in Voltaire's opinion, the best work on English history that had hitherto appeared. It does not seem possible for John to have read the whole of this enormous work in addition to the other books mentioned here; Doddridge may mean Rapin's *Acta Regia*, an account of the papers printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*. A copy of Whatley's translation of this (1726–7), in four volumes octavo, is in the library at Kilkerran, and may have been used by John.

³ Practical science.

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He has also learned shorthand tho' he be not quite so ready in it as more practice might have made him, and he has in his hands papers which may be of great use to him in a great variety of curious enquiries relating to philosophy, politicks and theology, especially the proofs of the faith of Christianity, his belief of which will not as I apprehend be easily shaken after the deep foundation I am endeavouring to lay for it.

No longer was Dr Doddridge writing 'in generals,' and Lord Kilkerran must have been well satisfied with this formidable summary of John's studies.

May Day came. The rich English countryside was heavy with summer grass, and the end of the inordinately long term at Doddridge's Academy was only a few weeks off. The original plan for John's education had been that he should conclude his stay at Northampton when midsummer came and the Academy broke up; but his tardy conscience seems to have been awakened at last, and on his own initiative he decided to ask permission to remain with Dr Doddridge for another year. He had written accordingly to his father, and this morning, 'in an interval between the lectures,' he sought out Dr Doddridge and told him of his purpose. 'While he said this with the most chearful air,' reported Doddridge happily next day, 'tears stood in his eyes and they seemed tears of pleasure and love. . . . The short conference concluded by a warm embrace of parental and filial affection.'

In a long letter the Doctor outlined his proposals for another year of study. He began with condolences 'that the services of so honourable and useful a life or the pleasures of its wise and pious retirements should be at all interrupted by so painful a disorder as the gout'—a complaint to which Lord Kilkerran was a martyr; in

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fact his son Adam recalled sixty years later that 'though I was five and twenty years old when he died, I do not remember ever to have seen him able to walk farther than his own garden.'

. . . I would fain have him fix'd in proper business in his own chamber, particularly that he may improve in the languages. He will not attend on classical lectures with M^r Brabant my assistant, and the true secret *inter nos* is that there are three younger than he that do much better. He will not read constantly alone in his chamber if he have not a kind of tutor yet under the name of a companion and fellow-student with him there. . . . My scheme therefore, my Lord, is that he be fixed with a companion with whom he may every day spend an hour in Greek and Latin, always preparing the lecture before they read it together. Such a one I have been searching out and it is the son of your obliged D^r Clark, one of the best scholars and one of the most amiable youths I ever knew of his age which is not quite seventeen.¹ He is an admirable linguist, having been bred up under the Doctor as well as at an excellent school in the same town.² And the sagacity of his genius joined with the sweetness of his temper and his remarkable attainments in piety far beyond his years will render his converse and friendship an exceeding great blessing to my dear charge. And with this view before me, on the whole

¹ Samuel Clark, who had been one of Doddridge's pupils, was at this time acting as a kind of extra assistant at the Academy—'a charming secretary,' Doddridge called him. His father, the Rev. Samuel Clark (1684-1750), an old friend and benefactor of Dr Doddridge, was the minister of a Dissenting congregation at St Albans, where he established the first charity school to be connected with a Dissenting congregation, and published a work which was once well known, *A Collection of the Promises of Scripture*. During the winter of 1744-5 Lord Kilkerran, at Doddridge's request, had used his influence to procure Clark the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Glasgow. (The English universities did not at this time grant degrees to any who were not members of the Episcopal Churches; Doddridge's own doctorate was given to him by the University of Aberdeen in 1736.) This transaction, concerning which Doddridge and Kilkerran exchanged a number of letters, was the reason why Dr Clark was 'obliged' to Lord Kilkerran.

² St Albans.

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I do most sincerely . . . advise that he be permitted either to stay here another year, or if he return to Kilkerran for an interview to come back again.

Perhaps, my Lord, this may be the turning time of life, and I faithfully assure both your Lordship and my Lady that I have very great hopes of him, and those increasing hopes too.

Dr Doddridge went on to suggest that Lord Kilkerran should write to John 'about this scheme of a companion in general,' and should recommend John to consult his tutor 'to assist him in *his choice*,' thus paving the way to an association with young Clark without seeming to force him upon John. As for the future in general, 'morning hours,' Doddridge urged, 'should be represented as important. They are generally lost, and I have agreed only to excuse him from rising at 6 if your Lordship desire it.'

John had certainly earned his summer holiday.

His tutor had one more idea for next year's programme, which was added in a postscript:

What if your Lordship should propose *a certain sum* to be allowed him for the whole expences of his education next year, insisting also on an exact view what they are, and on a monthly account of all the business dispatched even to the number of Greek and Latin pages read, exercises exhibited, etc.?

Lord Kilkerran replied in a letter the draft of which is undated; it was probably written from Edinburgh about the 15th of May. He had already begun to write *to John when the Doctor's letter arrived*.

REVEREND SIR

Yours of the 2nd instant gave me a very agreeable surprize. I can not say I would have compelled him to

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stay another year let the improvement have been what it would, tho' I threatened it when I found it disagreeable to him as an argument to prevail with him to make the best of his time, but now that it comes of himself it gives me great hopes that it may be a well employ'd year.

I have wrote a very full letter to himself wherein you will see an answer to the greatest part of yours and which therefore I need not repeat. I really think his mamma's proposal of his coming down in the vacation is right; I shall have a better opportunity of inculcating my admonitions than can be done by letters, and since he has taken the resolution to return I will be very tender of finding fault with any former neglects. . . .

You ask what if I should propose a certain sum to be allow'd him for the expence of his education next year. I should have no objection to that had I any rule to direct me in it, but as he has hitherto kept no account, I have no rule by which I can form a judgment of it. The article for his board and colledge is very moderat and I really am at a loss to see how his expences beyond it have swelled so much; a matter I should not grudge could I see the occasion for it. But I would fain hope that as he seems to become sensible of his folly in one matter he may correct his mistakes in others. The better he applies to his bussynes the less the idle expence will of course be, withall there were severall things he had to provide at first which will lessen the next year's expence. When I have said that, I might really ask of you to advise me in about what sum you would propose me to allow and for what I shall give him credit. . . . For cloaths he needs none till he comes home, he will be mostly travelling and in the country while he is here, for which new cloaths would be improper, and he may get these provided at Edinburgh or on his return as shall appear proper.

As I have said so much in that letter to him of a com-

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panion to assist him in his studies I can add nothing to it. I am sensible of the use it may be to him especially in the classicks, wherein to say truly he was foundred in the beginning, but I should be sorry he needed it much in other matters, and I have sometimes seen it a loss to [a] boy to have another to trust to. But all this I leave to your discretion.

Lord Kilkerran's letter to his son—which, he noted, was 'sent off May 16, 1745'—began with another allusion to John's failure to keep accounts; but he was too pleased with the evidence he had received of John's determination to work hard during the ensuing year to reproach him much.

. . . You cannot have forgot that when you parted with me you undertook to keep in a book a regular account of the disposal of your money, that when you returned you might let me see your management. I did not mean by this that you should set down every shilling or sixpence; there is no body young or old but will have some incidents that would not be particularly stated. . . . But when a book for your regular expences at home was what I expected according to your promise to see at your return, this was an easy return for you to make me for the expence I have been att, and the purpose I had by it was your own good to accustom you to attention and exactness. Yet if I do not mistake it, you have no such book and all the scraps of accounts you have sent me, are all from memory. If it be so, I won't make it an irreconcilable quarrel, but you'll own I have cause to complain. And I chuse rather to make it now than to upbraid you when you come, as I hope to see cause in other matters to have a satisfaction that I would not chuse to interrupt with complaints.

It is now time to be thinking of your manner of travelling home; for my part I know not what became of

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your horse, for though I wrote about him both to the Doctor and yourself I never got an answer. If you have him the best way will be to ride him down and I may send up one who knows the road to come down with you; the young horse should thrive well and will be for service next year.

So far I had gone in writing you when just before concluding it the Doctor's letter came to my hand acquainting me of your having wrote me for leave to remain with him another year, and on that occasion expressing a tenderness for you which I could not read without some emotion; but as your letter came not along with it I deferred answering the Doctor till I should receive yours, which as I expected came by the next post—and I can not do you justice without telling you that I am extremely well pleas'd with it. To begin with what is of least consequence, I have had no letter from you wrote in so good a hand, and it shews me you will soon by care come to write a good hand; but next, which is more material, it is wrote in a manner which pleases me, what you say is well and properly said, a proof to me more satisfying than the strongest assurances in words could give me of your improving under the care of that worthy man to whom you and I are so much oblidge, which naturally leads me to tell you that your proposal to stay another year is what I most readiely agree to. It gives me hopes that as you advance towards manhood you will more and more become sensible of the satisfaction you are afterwards to find from your diligent application to your improvement in useful knowledge. If you are sensible now that you might have made better use of the time you have had, I accept of your proposing to stay another year as the best appology for all past faults, being perswaded the thought should never have come in your mind but from the strongest purpose and resolution, to do the best for the time to come.

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There is one thing which I must confess in excuse for your not having that relish for the classicks [which] could have been wished, that you was founded in the beginning at the High School of Edinburgh, a fault to be rather imputed to me than to you. But I think it not yet without remedy. If the Doctor could find out any of your fellow-students who might for a moderat recompense assist you, I imagine you might improve more by it than by the public lectures; but this I only mention. If you agree with me in this and the Doctor approve it, I leave it to him to find out such person if he can be had.

I agree with you that your stay at Northampton when neither the Doctor nor his lady are at home would be for the reasons you give most improper, and as I see no great occasion for your taking another jaunt into the country with the Doctor, I agree to your mamma's proposal that you should come down as last [designed] and see your friends, and as it is likely this may not be disagreeable to you, if you'll let me know at what time your vacation begins, I shall send up a servant to come along with you.

Doddridge wrote on 28th May to express his pleasure at the new arrangement, to hint at some of the good advice which he hoped John would receive at home, and to offer what explanation he could for the rapidity with which John always seemed to get through his allowance.

. . . He will receive many excellent lessons at home which will be of vast importance in the remainder of his course. To rise in a morning long before 8—to attend family worship from the beginning—to conquer indolence in little things—to minute down his expences and the manner in which he spends his time—to do some thing every day at anything he would learn to do well

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—to think it worth his while to write well—and to read with propriety, energy and attention—to be ambitious of making one good Latin oration, and of leaving behind him some written monument of his genius and application . . . to spend at least one hour every day in Latin and another in Greek—and to set certain boundaries to shooting, fishing &c. which swallow up more days than are observed. . . .

The chief causes of extraordinary expence have been the keeping the horse—the taking some journies of pleasure, viz. to Lord Cobham's¹—to Windsor to see Marshal Belleisle²—and toward Oxford with a visitant from thence &c., which being proposed in good company and my permission ask'd in the most obliging manner I really did not know how to deny—a custom (which I soon broke, it having been form'd in the time of my illness) of making entertainments on the game taken (or bought) at publick houses, tho' always in good company and at regular hours, in which he has been I think the most exact of all my pupils so that I don't know he was ever out of my house without me after 10 in the evening, even in summer—and to add no more, besides a multitude of forfeits,³ the omission of a regular account of expences, in consequence of which small articles have multiplied more than he can now imagine, or I have ever observed, for I never saw anything that looked like a silly profusion of money, nor do I know that he has ever play'd at all, much less do I suspect his doing it for any considerable sum. What has been subscribed . . .

¹ Stowe.

² Charles-Louis-Auguste Fouquet, Comte de Belle-Isle, Marshal of France (1684–1761), the hero of the retreat of the French troops from Prague in December, 1742, an exploit which was considered by contemporaries worthy to rank beside Xenophon's. In 1744 Belle-Isle was arrested on Hanoverian soil while on a diplomatic mission to Berlin, and was sent to England where he remained prisoner for about a year. He was made *duc et pair* in 1748, and became French Minister for War in 1750.

³ The forfeit for late rising was one penny, for being more than five minutes late for a lecture twopence, and for 'total neglect of preparing an appointed exercise' sixpence (Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–9).

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to particular objects of charity . . . may perhaps one way or another amount to half a guinea per quarter but I believe not to more. Of private charities I can say nothing; of forfeits I wish I could not say so much, tho' no one exceeds two pence.

. . . As for the stated allowance I talk'd of I must submit it to your Lordship's prudence, but I should think an exhibition of ten guineas per quarter, considering how he will be furnished with cloaths at Edinburgh, might exclusive of board and teaching be not only sufficient for other articles but might leave room for saving a little, yet in this I conclude your Lordship will consult him and perhaps one quarter's trial may not be amiss. . . .

. . . I have directed his journey as he writes i.e. that he endeavour to be at Nottingham (at the Post Office with a messenger from hence) to meet your servant there on Friday June 14th about the evening and if he, i.e. the servant, arrive not there by that time that M^r F. keep on the high road, baiting only at the Post Office in each town, till they meet. . . .

Doddridge seems on the whole to have felt quite satisfied with the progress John had made lately. When Lord Somerville called on him to discuss his plan of sending one of his sons to Northampton, Doddridge 'had occasion to mention M^r Fergusson as one of the most regular pupils that ever entered my doors; how amiable a youth he is Lord S. could not but see, for he had a long conversation with him.'

Before the time of the vacation arrived, John fell ill. Although, after the first alarm was over, his malady did not cause the Doddridges much anxiety, this was the first appearance of the illness which was to cause his death. Doddridge wrote Lord Kilkerran a full account on 9th June. John had, he explained, 'for many months

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enjoyed as confirmed a state of health as any man living, look'd most charmingly fat and florid, and indeed bred blood rather too fast. . . . We were all much alarmed yesterday in the afternoon by his spitting clear blood on a sudden (in a manner that plainly shewed a vessel was broke) tho' in a very small quantity.' A doctor was hastily summoned, who 'judged it necessary immediately to bleed him, and his blood has a whitish and very viscous serum at the top, not unlike the butter pour'd on something potted.'

But no one seemed to be very much worried by this occurrence. 'It was the effect,' said Doddridge, 'of a sudden accidental fit of coughing after riding too hard the day before. . . . These timely evacuations may prevent a fever, which in so viscous a state of blood might have attended so long a journey, so brisk as our sprightly young gentleman would have made it, and God only knows what consequences might have followed. . . . I hope you need fear nothing, my Lord, but that you will see him a little later, and perhaps a little paler than you expected.'

John himself was quite cheerful: 'he said when I saw him last, which was just before I went to bed, he was as well as ever he had been in his life, and he was in such high spirits, finding himself safe after a terrible alarm (which it at first gave him), that I was forced to impose silence and quietness on him.'

'I judged it proper,' added Doddridge in a postscript, 'to give the doctor a guinea. He is very moderate in his fees, and constant in his attendance. Since I wrote this I have seen my young gentleman, who tells me his chief complaint is that he wants his breakfast, and that he was put off with some chicken broth last night for supper when he had more mind to a beef steak.'

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John was well enough to set out for Scotland by the middle of June, bearing with him a letter for his father in which the Doctor had paid a long-winded tribute to his pupil—‘not only to the uncommon talents which God has given him but to the spotless and exemplary purity of his morals and strict regularity of his behaviour as well as that engaging sweetness of his temper which has rivetted him so deep in my heart that were ever so many years to divide us I could as soon forget my own son.’ Lord Kilkerran wrote on the 25th to announce John’s safe arrival home, and Doddridge replied on 16th July, again at great length. ‘Your Lordship is perfectly right,’ he observed, ‘to keep him in as good humour as possible. His own good sense will correct his few remaining faults and he will I dare say do us all an honour this next sessions. . . . I please my self with thinking that now you have seen him, and know the worst, you don’t regret his having been at Northampton. My wife’s tenderness for him equals mine, and I don’t think either of us knew how well we loved him (tho’ we knew a pretty deal of it) till that alarm from his spitting blood. We shall learn by it to guard against a danger we did not so thoroughly apprehend before, and watch the first symptoms of a plethory which had we been aware of the necessity of observing we might easily have discerned.’

For the next six weeks correspondence ceased between Kilkerran and Northampton, and John no doubt enjoyed to the full his freedom from early rising, forfeits, and Mr Brabant’s classical lectures. But a cloud was on the horizon more threatening and portentous than the beginning of another term at the Academy.

Before the end of August, rumours had penetrated even to Ayrshire of the landing of Prince Charles Edward

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and the raising of the Stuart standard at Glenfinnan. Lord Kilkerran, who was of course a supporter of the established government, hesitated for a few days before sending John south again, feeling uncertain whether, should the rising become a menace to the peace of the country, John might not be safer in the retirement of Carrick than on the road towards London. However, he was finally sent off from Kilkerran on the 2nd of September. His father would certainly have kept him at home had he known that on that very day the Prince was at Blair Castle, and that the vanguard of the Highland army, under Cameron of Lochiel, was within two days of Perth. They had got behind Sir John Cope's force and cut it off from Edinburgh.

News travelled slowly, and for the moment John's education and behaviour were still the main topics of correspondence between Lord Kilkerran and Dr Doddridge. It appears that Lord Kilkerran did not take John to task during his holiday for any of the faults about which Doddridge had complained. None the less he did not forget the Doctor's letters. He re-read and considered them, and a day or two before John's departure he put into his hands a long letter of advice and exhortation which, the better to fix it in his memory, John was enjoined to copy out with his own hand. From another letter, which John took with him to give to his tutor, it appears that this was a written summary of a conversation which had taken place between him and his father. Much of the advice given in it is along lines suggested some weeks before by Dr Doddridge, but many points and the expression of the whole are Lord Kilkerran's own, and the whole letter is notable for its wisdom, simplicity, and sympathetic approach to the boy's own feelings.



SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, SECOND BARONET OF KILKERRAN, LORD KILKERRAN

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DEAR SON

I have been as good as my word in taking no notice to you of several things that were the subject of complaint in letters from an expectation that the motion which proceeded from yourself of staying another season at N[orthampton] took its rise in your mind from a sense of your not having spent the time past to so good purpose as you might have done, and a firm purpose to make up that losse by your futur application.

You are now nigh manhood and it is full time to be forming the plan of your futur life; and for that end it were fit that you should deliberately think with yourself what course of life you are to follow. I may advise, I may recommend, but as I am sensible that my advices and recommendations must be to little purpose if they be not heartily embraced from your own choice and inclination, it is my earnest desire that you may be free with me and let me know what your own choice is, to which it is not impossible I may yield tho' it should happen to differ in part from what should be mine. The use of this would be to prevent a disapointment which of all things might be of the worst consequence both to you and to me.

To do you justice, I observe some very good things about you; your sobriety, your discreet behaviour are agreable to me, and from this I am led to hope for something from you that is more material; for those things, though in themselves good and commendable, will not be enough to make that figure in life that is necessary to make a man any thing considerable; which for your own sake, not to speak of my own, I earnestly wish you to be.

You know so much already of my inclination how you should employ yourself, that I shall forbear being more particular at present and shall only touch at a few things with respect to your conduct the following season while under the direction of that worthy good man

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who has your interest no less at heart than I have. And as you are to transcribe this with your own hand, I earnestly desire if you have any objection to any of the following particulars that you may freely speak it out to me now before you leave me.

In the first place, I expect to hear that you are not behind with anyone in your house in getting out of bed in the morning, and that you constantly attend the first meeting of the family. This will be acceptable to the Doctor, whom you are under the strongest ties to oblige, and it is so easy a matter for you to comply with that I cannot help saying that I will by no means accept of any excuse for the omission of it. The forfeit of a penny or twopence for neglect of this will give me more offence than if you should throw a crown into the river. I have formerly told you and I now repeat it, that the benefit of early rising is unspeakable in all respects, as it is fittest for bussynes of every sort and gives you so much more time of life than the man enjoys who loses it in his bed.

Secondly, as it is fit you do something every day in any thing that you would learn to do well, you are every evening to reflect what you have learnt the preceeding day, and if you cannot find you have learnt anything that you could make language of to me were I present to ask you, you may look upon it as a lost day. For your further satisfaction in this and mine also what if you were to keep a little book of diary, with a short note of what knowledg you have aquired each day? This would have a further advantage of riveting in your memory the knowledge you each day aquire.

3^{dly}. Endeavour to aquire a habit of reading any book with propriety, energy and attention.

4th. I intreat you may not desire to be excused from your part in theses, or disputations, but rather to make it your request that the Doctor do assign you a part with the rest of your class-fellows, as this will accustom you to

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reasoning. I foresee more use from it towards the purpose of life in which I should wish you applied yourself than from almost any other exercise whatever, and a little habit will soon make it easy to you.

5th. It should be no small credit to you to leave behind you some written monument of your genius and application.

6th. That you spend one hour every day on Latin and another on Greek. I shall expect to find you quite master of at least one Greek author, and should wish you continued to be so all the days of your life.

7th. When I speak of hours, let me obtest and beseech you to lay aside for this one year fishing and shooting. Lay down that as a resolution, let nothing prevail with you to break it.

8^{vo}. Keep an exact minut of your expence, not on loose paper but in a book, and let it be done every day. If you should hapen to do a foolish thing one day mark it notwithstanding, and when you review it you will be ashamed of it, and thereby advised to guard against it for the future.

I shall never expect a compliance with what is above recommended and which is but a small part of what your own reflection may suggest to you, unless you resolve firmly against indolence which is the ruin of most young people, and that you bring yourself to take pleasure in an active life. And for this you can never propose a better example than you have in your tutor, to whom I recommend you for directions in things that may be more material than anything I have hinted; and who, as he is much more capable of it than I am, will be no less willing to give you those lessons of virtue and religion which may be of the greatest use to you for time and eternity.

John dutifully copied out the whole of this letter, and his transcript bears the following memorandum of his

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own, in which he records his solemn resolution to turn over a new leaf:

The above is the copy of a paper put in my hands by my Pappa a day or two before I was to take my journey for Northampton, in August 1745; and as I am sensible that the directions come from a father who loves me tenderly, and that they appear to myself to be in themselves reasonable, I consider it as both my duty and interest to comply with them. I cannot dissemble that I have been sometimes in doubt whether I should apply myself to the studious life, but as I hope habit shall reconcile me to it, and that in all events it is both my duty and interest to employ the following year at Northampton in a close application to my studys, I hope my Pappa shall find no reason to repent his compliance with my proposal to be allowed another year there, and which I made with that view that I might make up my former omissions, and that I might give the best of parents that comfort they at first proposed to themselves by sending me there.

In his letter to Dr Doddridge, Lord Kilkerran expressed a general satisfaction with John's progress.

. . . But one thing I could not help chiding him a little for, that he should have omitted to bring along with him one small volume of your dictates. . . . It had the appearance of an indifference I was not pleased with that he should not have had something along with him to revise. I also expected not to have found him without a Greek New Testament in his pocket, which is not an improper *vademecum* and whereof I should chuse he were absolutely master, rather than of any other Greek book whatever.

At the same time I must do him the justice and you

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the pleasure to own that whatever may have been his improvements in point of literature I find much in point of behaviour and discretion, and I am from that led to hope for very good effects from his labour of the coming year as I also do to have less cause to complain of his expence which swelled so high last year, I have the satisfaction to find that he is neither disposed to game nor drinking which tho' only negative qualities are to me a great comfort. . . .

I foresaw that his keeping his horse was but a temptation to idleness, but as he once had got him and was unwilling to part with him I did not chuse to cross him; but as it has now fallen out that he cannot make the journey, his sister has lent him her galloway which returns with the servant. If at any time you approve of an afternoon's diversion a-horseback, a horse is readily got at Northampton, but the lesse of any thing of that kind the better, especially now that the winter comes on and that his health requires a good deal of care. He is advised by the phisitian who attends my family and is a man of character, to let blood every six weeks or two months at most, which with M^{rs} Doddridge's care he thinks may prevent that danger which otherwise his fulnes of blood might expose him to. . . .

He has with him what I think may leave a quarter's allowance in his hands after defraying the expence of [his] journey and what he may have to give the servant for his charges home. I wish the state of affairs may admit the same ready remittance as formerly, of which I have chose to say nothing, leaving that to the young gentleman who will inform you of all we yet here know.

The cloud in the north was growing larger and more ominous. 'I am sorry publick affairs look so dark,' wrote Doddridge to Kilkerran, reporting the arrival of 'dear M^r Fergusson,' on 12th September, the day before the

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Highlanders crossed the Forth. 'No words can express the contempt in which this mad enterprise of the insurgents, as it is called, is looked upon here, and I wish that very contempt be not its strength and at last its triumph.'

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DR DODDRIDGE was a zealous adherent of the house of Hanover. He remembered, perhaps, the protection he had received from King George II during his troubles with the ecclesiastical authorities in 1732. But in any case his sympathies, like those of all the English Dissenters, would have been with the established government. Loyalties at this time coincided with the extremes of religious belief. In Scotland, Prince Charles Edward's followers were drawn chiefly from the Roman Catholic Highlanders and the Episcopalians of the north-east, though there were a few recruits from other districts; but the Presbyterians supported George II 'to a man.'¹ In England, such Jacobites as existed were Roman Catholics and High Church Tories; and their extreme opposites, the Dissenters, were staunch supporters of a government which, though far from liberal in its attitude towards them, was in their view greatly preferable to a Stuart one, which was almost bound to be aggressively Episcopal and might quite possibly be completely 'Romish.'

Early in September Doddridge wrote to the Earl of Halifax to express his unshakable loyalty to the government and to ask how he could most acceptably show it. In his reply, written from London on 12th September, Lord Halifax mentioned his plan to propose to the King the raising of a regiment of foot in Northampton and its neighbourhood for the defence of the country.² The

¹ *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 55. Lord Kilkerran uses the same phrase; see his letter on p. 113. For other contemporary estimates of the loyalty of Scotland as a whole, see *Marchmont Papers*, ed. Rose, 1870, vol. i, pp. 122-3, 126, 131.

² *Humphreys*, vol. iv, pp. 428-31.

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matter was postponed for the moment, but Halifax and Doddridge met a few days later and discussed it in detail. As a result, a large number of Northamptonshire gentlemen held a meeting on 25th September at the George Inn, Northampton, at which Dr Doddridge was present. Lord Halifax made a patriotic speech in which he proposed the signing by every gentleman present of a paper 'expressing, in a few strong words, our detestation of the present unnatural rebellion, and our inviolable attachment to His Majesty's person and government,' and proposing to raise a regiment in and around Northampton.¹

Next day Halifax returned to London with the document and secured permission to raise the troops and commissions for the officers. Recruiting for 'the Earl of Halifax's regiment of foot' began at once, and Doddridge himself took an enthusiastic share in it. He wrote a circular letter to many of his acquaintances describing the beginnings of the scheme and the terms of service proposed for the new regiment.

. . . They will be engaged to serve only in the island of Great Britain, so long as the present rebellion shall subsist, unless our island be invaded within five years by a foreign power, and in that case they will probably be called to their colours during that time. They who desire it may be paid for the days on which they exercise or march, though it is expected there will be a large body of gentlemen volunteers, who will maintain themselves at their own expense. They are all to be subject to martial law, which seems to be a circumstance of absolute necessity. . . .

As might have been expected, the patriotic infection spread to the pupils in Dr Doddridge's Academy. The

¹ Humphreys, vol. iv, pp. 436-9; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745, pp. 501-503.

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most fervent of all was John Fergusson. Soon after Lord Halifax returned from London, John took a step which was to alter the whole course of his life. Lord Halifax offered him an ensign's commission, and on 4th October John accepted it.

In the meantime Dr Doddridge had received sad news of his friend Colonel Gardiner. The battle of Prestonpans had been fought on 21st September. Taken almost by surprise in the early hours of the morning, the royal troops had behaved disgracefully. Gardiner's dragoons fled at the first onset, and their unfortunate commander received two gunshot wounds in the body and a sword-cut on the head, of which he died in the manse of Tranent the following day.

Doddridge afterwards wrote Colonel Gardiner's biography. In his account of the Colonel's death he seems to have relied too much on the evidence of a servant of Gardiner's, who apparently gave as much assistance as his imagination could supply to the Doctor's determination to prove that his master had died fighting like a hero. From his testimony Doddridge published a circumstantial and exciting tale of how Gardiner had taken command, after his own troops had fled, of a leaderless party of infantry, encouraged their resistance to the enemy with the words, 'Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing,' and with his last breath urged his servant to save himself. Unfortunately this moving narrative appears to be almost entirely untrue.¹

In a subsequent letter to Lord Kilkerran, written on 22nd March 1746, Doddridge alluded to another story about Colonel Gardiner at Prestonpans which had been told him by Lord Somerville's son Hugh, who had just

¹ Sir Robert Cadell: *Sir John Cope and the Rebellion of 1745*, 1898, pp. 236-7, 258-9; P. Doddridge: *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honourable Colonel James Gardiner*, 1747, pp. 186-7.

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entered the Academy. Hugh Somerville had been in Edinburgh when the Highland army came there, and had taken refuge in Inchkeith to avoid being pressed into it.

Mr S. tells me good Collonel Gardiner spoke his apprehensions the day before the fatal action of Preston Pans and declared his resolution not to attend his dragoons if they fled as he supposed they would.

Gardiner's dragoons had already run away from the Highlanders once, and it was reasonable enough for their commander to suspect they would not face them now. But as it happens, Hugh Somerville's story is confirmed by Dr Alexander Carlyle, who records that three days before the battle, in Cope's camp near Dunbar, Colonel Gardiner said to him, 'I'll tell you in confidence that I have not above ten men in my regiment whom I am certain will follow me.' Sure enough, according to Carlyle, he 'was only followed by eleven men, as he had foretold, Cornet Kerr [his kinsman] being one.'¹

Colonel Charles Whitefoord, Lord Kilkerran's cousin, who commanded Cope's small force of artillery, suffered a similar experience, though he escaped with his life. He too was deserted by almost all his men, and served his guns practically singlehanded. With the scanty powder his runaways had left him he managed to fire five not ineffective rounds before the Highland charge reached his battery. His life was saved, as he was about to be cut down, by Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, and he was made a prisoner.²

But Doddridge was not interested in Whitefoord, and his grief at the death of Gardiner was the strongest

¹ Carlyle's *Autobiography*, 1860, pp. 132, 143. See also Doddridge, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

² Cadell, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-2; *The Whitefoord Papers*, ed. W. A. S. Hewins, 1898, p. xviii; Scott, Introduction to *Waverley*.

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emotion which the news of Prestonpans aroused in him. The letter, written three days after the battle, which he received from the Colonel's kinsman Thomas Gardiner, laid on him the sad duty of breaking the news to his son David. The story was still in his mind when he wrote to Lord Kilkerran on 13th October to tell him the news of John's commission.

MY LORD

Your Lordship has some how or another given my dear pupil such an ardour in his countries cause that neither my wife nor I can restrain him. He has taken fire at the military preparations we are making, and as I could not but introduce him to pay his compliments to the Earl of Halifax who is much charmed with him, his Lordship, touch'd with the generous zeal my young patriot expressed, immediately promised him a pair of colours if your Lordship and Lady Jean will permit him to accept them. I absolutely insisted on this condition and with it I permitted what I foresaw would happen on the interview as I knew there would be no harm in his having the offer. I hope there is to be no hazard in accepting it, but as I cannot answer for that I only add that I refer all to your Lordship and my Lady, and am with our united compliments to both and a heart full of the strongest agitations of various passion for the glorious death of our dear heroick friend Colonel Gardiner (whose funeral sermon¹ I shall this day preach)

My Lord

Your Lordship's most dutiful, obliged
and faithful humble servant

P. DODDRIDGE

The course of Lord Kilkerran's correspondence with Northampton becomes at this point rather difficult to

¹ The sermon was published in December and had a considerable sale.

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determine. It is clear that several letters are missing. Others were generally delayed by the interruption of the ordinary channels of communication, and took much more than the normal ten days or so to reach their destinations. It appears, however, that long before Lord Kilkerran received Dr Doddridge's letter of 13th October he had heard from John himself the news of Lord Halifax's offer, and its qualified acceptance. Although he did not at that time take John's engagement to be anything more than to serve in a volunteer force raised for the protection of Northampton, he strongly disapproved of it, and wrote, on some date about 15th October, a peremptory order to John not to engage in military service of any kind.

The arrival of Lord Kilkerran's letter was Doddridge's cue to the attitude which he himself should take up over John's military ambitions. He probably had an uneasy feeling that he had shown them rather too much encouragement, and in a letter dated 2nd November he hastened to put himself on the right side with a little pedagogic pleasantries over their frustration.

We are very good, and tho' perhaps a disappointment may spoil our supper or a night's rest we take all as quietly as we can. Only your Lordship furnishes great occasion for female triumphs. My wife crowed over us both abundantly on Friday night on occasion of the peremptory decree against making the campaign, for the very mention of which to your Lordship I have been corrected more than once. On the whole, to be serious, I think your determination very wise, yet I think it was necessary for me to mention the thing, both as it shewed a fine generous spirit in my young friend to propose it, which I assure you has got him a good deal of credit, and as *he knew your Lordship so well as to be very confident*

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that you would *intirely approve it*, in which confidence he has bought himself gold lace to trim a scarlet waistcoat, in which to begin his exercises before his regimentals were made. A circumstance which, considering how very fashionable that dress is now grown this way, will not I hope be much blamed; especially considering how sadly we have been blank'd.¹ I had a promise from Lord Halifax that he should be discharged whenever it was desired, and thought it probable he would never have been ordered out of Northampton, or I had dissuaded [him] from it in stronger terms. On the whole all is well. Our credit is saved, and our health not endangered. I have the pleasure to tell your Lordship that tho' we have had our heads so full of military ideas, yet lectures have been constantly attended, and my project with respect to joining that charming youth D^r Clark's son with M^r F. has succeeded very well, and in consequence of it a good deal of business has been done. . . .

I have no news which seems material. All the friends of religion and liberty rejoice in these associations made with so good a spirit, but it is very apparent that the Tories tho' they suffer themselves to be carried down with the stream are in many places secretly disgusted with them. I thank God that their influence to oppose them is so small. The Dissenters are insulted by their enemies here as if the Presbyterians were for bringing in the Chevalier,² but I believe it is hardly possible to conceive a warmer zeal against his interests than is generally to be found among us throughout England. I should be glad to hear from your Lordship, what I verily believe, that most of his friends in Scotland are Papist or Episcopal. The death of our dear and invaluable friend Colonel Gardiner, who behaved so gloriously in that

¹ Disappointed.

² An interesting sidelight on the common English view, of which other evidence will appear in later letters, that the insurrection was a national rising in Scotland instead of merely a Jacobite one.

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scene of infamy at Preston Pans, has almost broke my heart. I have it from very good hands that the K[ing] talks of trying all the officers of that base regiment by Court Martial and also that the [day] after the defeat a commission was actually taken out for Sir John Cope to command the whole army in case of Wade's death. It was, on the remonstrance of some great man, burnt; and that contingency fix'd on Handysides.¹ . . .

We are told that 4000 Highlanders are raised by Lord Loudoun for the service of the government, and that the Chevalier is retired, but know not what credit is to be given to either.²

John, fourth Earl of Loudoun, was to play a decisive part in counteracting the Jacobite campaign north of Inverness; and glimpses of his activities appear later in several of the letters Lord Kilcarran received during the progress of the rising. He was at this time a man of forty, and had served as Cope's adjutant-general at Prestonpans, where almost the whole of the newly raised Highland regiment he commanded were killed or captured. After the battle he went north by sea with a supply of arms and money, reached Inverness on 14th October, and gave valuable assistance to the efforts of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Lord President, to raise troops for King George and prevent Lovat and other of the northern chiefs from declaring for Prince Charles Edward. Thus the moral effect of Prestonpans was neutralised in the north.

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Roger Handasyd, Colonel of the 16th Foot, was Commander-in-Chief in Scotland from this time till the beginning of December, when the command again devolved on Lieut.-Gen. Guest, the octogenarian defender of Edinburgh Castle, and was later assumed by Hawley. When he died in 1763 Handasyd was the oldest general in the army.

² This letter's address shows the roundabout routes correspondence had to take while the Highlanders held Edinburgh: 'To The Right Honourable Lord Kilcarran, to the care of John Macadam of Craigengillan [who was later the guardian of John Loudon McAdam, the road-maker], at M^{rs} Scot's in Dumfries, by Carlisle, by London.'

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Meanwhile the Jacobite cause was making no headway in the west. Ayrshire and Galloway were warmly for the government side. This was not only because Presbyterianism had always been especially strong in those regions, but because Ayrshire in particular had the bitterest memories of Highland troops and could never look with enthusiasm, or even with sympathy, to a Prince who was backed by a chiefly Highland following. It was less than fifty years since the 'Highland Host' had been quartered for three months in Ayrshire, an event still within the memory of old men, the tradition of which would be, in the Ayrshire of 1745, no less grim than that which Defoe recorded in 1717:

In order effectually to suppress these persecuted people, and to finish the ruin of the country, the Government had raised what the country people call'd the *Highland Host*. . . . Those Highlanders, little better than barbarians, and in some cases much worse, were arm'd and taken into the service of Satan, and some time after the Bothwel Brigg affair, were order'd to the number of 8000 men to quarter upon the suffering people in the shires of Air, Galloway, and other the western shires: there they exercis'd all the rapine, violence, robbery and wickedness, over and above the murther and shedding of innocent blood . . . that may be expected from an ungovern'd souldiery, or that could be practised upon, or suffered by a people, given up to the lust and rage of a crew of savages.¹

Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire had suffered less at that time than Ayrshire, but they also lent practically no aid to the Jacobite cause now. Ayrshire itself had in after years the reputation of being 'the only shire in Scotland

¹ Daniel Defoe: *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, 1844 ed., p. 79.

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out of which there had not issued a single rebel in 1745.¹ This was almost literally true; and from Galloway even Lord Kenmure, whose father had been attainted and executed after the 'Fifteen, came only to pay his respects to the Prince who held his brief state in Holyrood, and took no active part in his support.²

But stubborn in their loyalty though the men of the west might be, they could not but feel disturbed by the news that reached them from Edinburgh. The mixture of caution and alarm shown during October by the Town Council of Ayr was very characteristic of many of the smaller Scottish towns at this time.

Ayr had received a circular letter from John Murray of Broughton, the Prince's secretary, dated from Holyroodhouse on 27th September, commanding the attendance of the Provost to have the amount of the burgh's contribution to the Prince's funds assessed. This letter the Provost produced and read to the Town Council on 5th October. The Council appointed a committee, consisting of the magistrates, the Dean of Guild, the Treasurer, and some of the senior councillors, with 'full power to act transact do and perform every act thing and deed which they or the majority shall think for the good and welfare of this place during the present troubles and disturbances.' This committee's first action was to 'receive and agree that expresses be sent to Edinburgh, Dumfries, Santquhar, Lanark, Linlithgow, Glasgow, and Renfrew, with horses for information in the present state of affairs, and recommend to the magistrates to write letters and correspond with these places.'

On 7th October Murray's letter and the Council's decision thereon were read 'in presence of the community

¹ *Autobiography of Dr Alexander Carlyle*, 1860, p. 399. See also *The Albemarle Papers*, 1902, vol. i, pp. 115-6.

² See *Caldwell Papers*, Part II, vol. i, p. 70.

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who were conveyed by order of the magistrates for that end'; and the committee was enlarged, among its new members being William Fergusson of Auchenblain, a cousin of Lord Kilkerran's and the head of the older branch of the Fergusson family. On the 12th a sub-committee was appointed, on consideration that 'there are expresses very frequently going and coming and letters to be dispatched and other matters to transact.'

It appears that the Town Council was delaying in the hope that the situation would somehow resolve itself. Certainly the Provost did not venture to go to Edinburgh as Murray's letter demanded. On the 15th, however, an express brought news from the Provost of Sanquhar that part of the Highland army had entered Douglas the day before, and the record of the committee's meeting on receipt of the message shows that they were much alarmed by it. Douglas was only a day's journey away, and the committee felt that they dared delay no longer. It was agreed 'that it was proper for the town to settle the demand made upon them as His Majestie King George had at present no standing army in Scotland and other royal burrows had complied with the demands made on them and that our compliance could be no ways derogatory from the alleadgiance we are known to bear to his Majesty. Therefore and to prevent the ruin and destruction with which this place is threatned the committee resolve and agree that two deputys should be sent to meet any party that may come to the town to demand a contribution therefrom,' and 'to settle and adjust . . . the sum to be payed.' Two other deputies were appointed to proceed to Edinburgh 'there to settle and adjust this burgh's proportion of the contribution demanded of them.' The Provost was evidently not going to trust himself among the Highlanders alone.

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On 17th October the embarrassed magistrates learned that Ayr's contribution had already been assessed at 'one hundred and seventy-two pounds three shillings and three pence sterling to be payed at Holyroodhouse on or before the twenty-fourth instant.' The committee's recommendation that this sum should be borrowed 'upon the town's credit' was approved by the full Town Council on the 19th, and the deputies departed for Edinburgh. They were back on the 29th and reported that the town's legal agents in the capital had compounded matters before their arrival. They also reported that their travelling expenses, 'including four horse hires,' had amounted to £6 18s. 9d. sterling, which the Council refunded, thanking the deputies for their trouble.¹

Ten days later Lord Kilkerran had a letter from Ayr giving him the latest news that had reached the town: the Highlanders had left Edinburgh and were marching for the Border. The writer was Dr John Stevenson, who seems to have been the family physician. When he died in 1757 his obituary notice² described him as 'physician in Edinburgh' and as the author of 'some tracts inserted in the Medical Essays.' He had, however, some connection with the town of Ayr, for on 21st November of this year his servant Alexander Robertson 'was admitted and received burgess and freeman of the burgh in testimony of respect the magistrates and council have and bear to his said master.'¹ He was possibly the brother of a contemporary advocate named Alexander Stevenson, whose father was 'David Stevenson, cheirurgeon apothecarie in Aire.'³ He was at any rate, on the evidence of his letters, a man of wide acquaintance, genial temperament, and generous mind. It was he

¹ Minutes of Ayr Town Council.

² *Scots Magazine*, vol. xix, p. 438.

³ *National Library of Scotland*, MS. 37.2.8, f. 67.

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who, a few years before this time, had met the blind Thomas Blacklock—later the friend and benefactor of Robert Burns—at Dumfries; had sent him to Edinburgh, and ‘with uncommon generosity, indulged him in everything necessary to life and education for four years.’¹

Dr Stevenson’s letter was dated from Ayr on 7th November.

. . . Our news this day leaves us still in some uncertainty about the designs of the Highland army. At first, by their going in 3 columns to Peebles, Linton and Lauther, it was thought they design’d to jank² Wade and go the Hawick road, and push on to Wales and there expect the foreign landing so much depended on. But the letter of the last date says that some of them have gone the Kelso road,³ and that the rest were to follow. If this is true, they intend to risk all and to fight. One correspondent with this place says that, to prevent their first project, Husk⁴ has been detach’d with 7000 men crost the country toward Carlisle. Our whole army consists of 15000. There are straglers and some small partys of deserters taken up, and cary’d to Edinburgh.⁵ They are found to have money, and no less than £70 has been taken off some of them. We hear that the Earle of Loudoun commands now 4000 men, and that

¹ Thomas Blacklock: *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1754, Introduction, p. vii; *The Bee*, vol. xv, p. 113. Blacklock published an earlier book of poems during 1745. For an account of him see H. G. Graham’s *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*.

² To trifle with, to dodge.

³ The rebels, whose rear left Dalkeith on the 3^d of November, marched southward in three columns; one body of between 4 and 5000, by the way of Peebles, Moffat, &c.; the middle column, by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick; and the eastermost column, of between 3 and 4000, by Kelso. The pretender’s son arrived at Kelso on the 4th at night’ (*Scots Magazine*, vol. vii, p. 529).

⁴ Brigadier-General John Huske (1692?–1761), known to his troops as ‘Daddy Huske,’ was under Wade at Newcastle. He was second-in-command to Hawley at Falkirk, after which he secured the retreat of the government forces; and he commanded the second line at Culloden.

⁵ There were a great many desertions from the Highland army at the beginning of its southward march, especially at Kelso.

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he is to join General John Campbell,¹ who sail'd from Liverpool to Inverera, and has rais'd a considerable body of the D[uke] of Argyle's Highlanders; and that they together are to take up all the passes of the Forth, so as to prevent the rebels from returning to the north. It's also said that Sir Alexander McDonald has join'd Loudoun with 1500 men; and that the Frazers are quite neutral. With my most respectful compliments to all at Kilkerran,

I am, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and obliged

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Several other correspondents sent Lord Kilkerran regular news of the progress of the rising and the movements of the Highlanders and the royal forces. The earliest of these letters which has survived was written from Balgray, near Glasgow, more than a month before Dr Stevenson's, on 4th October. The writer was William Edgar, a surveyor and cartographer, whom business connected with the Duke of Argyll's estate had taken to the west 'anent surveying some of the country about Inverary.' Earlier this year he had been making a survey for a map of Stirlingshire: the results, possibly because of the interruption of his labours caused by the rising, were not very accurate.²

Edgar was evidently a peaceable and prudent man — 'I will be in this country,' he remarked, 'till the

¹ John Campbell of Mamore (1693–1770), grandson of the ninth Earl of Argyll. He was appointed colonel of the Royal Scots Fusiliers (21st Foot) in 1738, served as a brigadier-general at Dettingen, and was promoted to the rank of major-general in February, 1744. On the outbreak of the rising he was given command of all the troops and garrisons in the west of Scotland. He arrived at Inveraray on 21st December, and on 9th February 1746 joined the Duke of Cumberland at Perth, when Cumberland ordered him back to the west, retaining 600 of his men. In 1761 he succeeded his cousin as fourth Duke of Argyll.

² William Nimmo: *History of Stirlingshire*, revised ed., 1817, vol. ii, p. 577, note.

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Highland army is gone from Edinburgh'—but he had collected some varied news of the disturbances, and had some independent views on the rising.

Several of my good freinds and wellwishers are joined with the rebels, which makes me shun seeing them or from going to the place where they are. This rebellion which is now too far advanced, might have been in a great measure prevented, if not intirely crushed in the bud, had the scituation of the country been better known to those who had the management of affairs, and this I the more evidently perceive by the observation I have taken these years bygone in surveying the shires of Stirling, Perth and Dumbarton.

He proceeded to demonstrate how the rising might have been confined to the Highlands if the strategical advantages of the country had been properly understood.

The passes of the rivers Forth and Tay, and all along the mouth of the Highlands, are as so many natural ramparts or fortifications divideing and defending one part of the kingdom from the other, so that a verry small force rightly placed might easily stop the passage of a numerous army from comeing from the Highlands or north country, and the harme in not stoping and guarding these passes, is now too plainly discovered by the Highland army advanceing southward, and the fatal consequences that have attended it, and in all appearance more fatal will yet come, if not timely prevented.

The rebels have by threatening oblidged the town of Glasgow to pay them 5000£ in money and 500£ value of goods, and are demanding summs from other lesser towns, what happens in Edinburgh is but little known here by their intercepting the posts and searching the packets, it is said the castle has but little provision laid in, and all access to it is stopt by the Highlanders, they

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have been firing upon the town and dammaged several houses, which makes the innocent suffer more than the guilty, for it is well known by the situation of Edinburgh that an enemy cannot be dislodged by the castle without destroying the whole town.

Altho' the Jacobites are now flushed with the victory and success which they have already obtained, and in great expectation of assistance from France, yet it is hoped that the forces which are now upon their march from London will soon dislodge the Highland army from Edinburgh, and if they find themselves like to be worsted and not in a condition to stand it, they will certainly make their retreat again in to the strengths of the Highlands, probably to Inversnaid which guarison is already in their hands, and their passage either to that or any part in the Highlands, must be by Aberfoil att the head of the River Forth, (for I reckon the foords below now unpassible) which might easily be guarded to prevent their retreat, for if they get once in to the Highlands again there can be no attacking them, they know so well how to take the adfantage of the ground, (as was the case with Lord Dundee's army) which might delay time till they gather more strength and get assistance from abroad, which would bring this kingdom to be the seat of a long and uncertain war, which surely all means possible should be taken to prevent.

The last paragraph of the letter shows that the writer's sympathies were not entirely on the government side.

These on this side either knows not or regards not any service I could do them, altho' these on the oposite side doth both, and are senceible that I could either do them service or harm, but I can never wish success to that cause whose aim tends to the subversion and ruin of the whole priviledges and libertys of the nation altho' there are some persons joined them, whom in gratitude I

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cannot but wish well, especially Lord George Murray, from whom I have experienced for 18 years more true freindship and sincerity than is to be expected from any nowadays, and I am sorry that one for whom I have deservedly such a regard, should be involved in a cause which all true lovers of their country must wish should come to ruin.

Edgar's news of the behaviour of the Highlanders occupying Edinburgh must have caused Lord Kilkerran some anxiety for the safety of his house in Forrester's Wynd. But 'Lord Kilkerran's house,' like those of 'several other Government people,' was favoured with a certificate of protection from Prince Charles Edward, procured through the agency of a Jacobite lady, 'to prevent the disorders that wrong headed people might be ready to committ, and which I'm told the P[rince] is very desirous to prevent.'¹

On 19th November Lord Kilkerran had some more news from Edinburgh. His correspondent this time was his cousin Allan Whitefoord, whose brother Charles had been taken prisoner at Prestonpans and was now at Perth, though he obtained leave to visit Edinburgh on parole on the 26th of this month. In January, 1746, Colonel Whitefoord and a number of other prisoners at Perth were released by the Angus militia.²

Allan Whitefoord had until recently been First Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland, and since John's first going to England had acted as financial intermediary between Lord Kilkerran and Dr Doddridge. In this letter, written on 14th November, he began by describing the financial paralysis caused by the occupation of Edinburgh.

¹ Francis Kennedy to Thomas Kennedy of Dunure, 5th October 1745 (*Scottish Historical Review*, vol. viii, No. 29, p. 56).

² *The Whitefoord Papers*, pp. 64, 66.

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. . . Credit has been at such a low pass for some time past, that scarce any body at London would accept a bill for such a small sum as even that you ordered, things have been on such a foot as I never knew before, so great was the panick occasioned by the progress of these disturbers of our peace.

I have been wandering near two months and only got home on Tewsday, Wednsday morning I went out to Musselburgh where a very great number of gentlemen from the Merse and Lothian met, and conducted to town some of your brethren.¹ The Justiciary met to-day, and the Committee of the Church, from these Edinburgh begins to resume its old look. We had likewise this afternoon two battallions of foot and the remains of the two regiments of dragoons that were at Prestonpans² [entered?] with General Handiside at their head, these will keep the peace of the town till a civill government be established.

The Highlanders by our last account were got to Penrith,³ and as they will soon be a-head of Marshall Wade he will be in their rear to prevent their returning this way, and they will find a very good army in their front, from all which we may hope for a good account of them. They lost one of their great guns in the Esk, and one of their gunners attempting to save it had his thigh bone broke. Colonel Campbell has had a skirmish with a hundred and thirty of the rebels in Argyleshire, and has defeated them.⁴

I am glad to see by your Lordship's that you have enjoyed so much quiet, and that the peace of your country has been preserved. That being the case, and that

¹ The Justice Clerk and some other Lords of Session who had retired to Berwick.

² Hamilton's and Gardiner's (the latter now Ligonier's).

³ This report was premature. 'A small body of their horse entered Penrith on the 18th, and the rest of the army on the three days following' (*Scots Magazine*, vol. vii, p. 534).

⁴ Campbell was commanding three companies of Loudoun's regiment, which lost only one man in the action; the enemy left two men dead and eighteen prisoners (*ibid.*, p. 537).

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you are likely to have no call to the Session for a while, will contribute to make you less provoked with the Highlanders than we are here. . . .

Meanwhile the usually serene relations of Lord Kilkerran with Dr Doddridge had become severely ruffled, and in his next letter, dated 16th November, the Doctor is writing in a very agitated mood. One or two letters of this time are missing, but it is clear that the intervention of Lady Jean and her mother had, in Dr Doddridge's phrase, 'spoiled all.' They wrote to John apparently a day or two after the despatch of Lord Kilkerran's prohibition of his plan to join Lord Halifax's regiment, and the tone of their letters seems to have given Doddridge to understand that John's father was less displeased with Lord Halifax's offer than he had expressed himself. Perhaps they contained only romantic sympathy with John's aspirations. At any rate, Doddridge understood that Lord Kilkerran's prohibition had been withdrawn.

It was on Wednesday evening, 6th November, that the letters from John's mother and grandmother arrived, and Doddridge, urged by his pupil, wrote immediately to Lord Halifax a letter which brought from him by express on the 8th a renewed offer of the coveted pair of colours. This time it was unconditionally accepted, and now there could be no drawing back.

A few days later Doddridge received Kilkerran's answer to his letter of 13th October which had been abnormally delayed in reaching Kilkerran. The reply was strongly worded. It had been written by Lady Jean, but obviously at her husband's dictation; and as it contained the very same prohibition which Lord Kilkerran had already sent to John, while the very step it forbade

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had just been irrevocably taken, Doddridge found himself in a very awkward position. His wife's attitude was 'I told you so.' In his uneasiness he did his best to defend himself in advance against the reproaches he anticipated, and at the same time to persuade Lord Kilkeran of the advantages John would derive from an association with Lord Halifax.

Northampton. November 16, 1745

MY LORD

I will now in my turn chide your Lordship and insist upon it that I have a very good right to be angry. All was very well over. I had made your compliments and M^r Fergusson's to my Lord Halifax and to prevent all further mischief and danger I had desired that these unlucky colours might be given away—and Lady Jean and Lady Maitland spoil all with those two letters, which excellent as they are for the good sense and piety as well as politeness which runs thro' them, have given me more grief than any I have received since that which brought me the news of Colonel Gardiner's death, which is a wound I shall feel thro' life, and truly so I believe I should this, if any harm should befall my dear child who has strangely wound himself about my heart and for whom I assure your Lordship the tears have been trickling down my cheeks since I begun to write this, before I knew it but from the wetness of the paper, which they had caused.

He was early up on Thursday morning (for it was on Wednesday night that these vexatious letters came)¹ to see to it that no other business could hinder my writing to Lord Halifax, and on Friday night his Lordship sent an express from London with the news equally welcome to him and unwelcome to me that notwithstanding my former letter he had reserved the commission for M^r

¹ Dr Doddridge is writing on a Saturday. It seems correct to assume that in this letter the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of the previous week are indicated (6th, 7th and 8th November).

Fergusson in case your Lordship and Lady Jean should change your minds, and if not that he might give it to some other friend of mine.

What is worse than all the rest is my wife is in great wrath with us all, and charges all the mischief primarily on me. I first applied to Lord Halifax about trying to raise this regiment. I by my discourses in publick and private endeavoured to animate all around me to zeal and courage in defending their country. I introduced Mr Fergusson to Lord Halifax's acquaintance. I did not absolutely over-bear that fine generous spirit he shew'd when he caught the fire nor quench it without permitting it to be mentioned to you. Nay, I have often commended him for it—and so whatever happens I may thank my self.

These my Lord are high charges but you are an equitable judge. Let me therefore assure you I never thought of his engaging till he consulted me about it. The first form of engagement proposed was as a voluntary guard to this neighbourhood in case of danger in which most of my theological students entered their names as many ministers have in the same view learned military exercise. . . . I was willing to give him the credit of the offer with Lord Halifax (which I knew would be great) yet left all perfectly in your power so that he might have withdrawn without the least impeachment of his character, which by the proposal, considering his youth, constitution and rank, stood high with all the gentlemen engaged, and they are the first in the neighbourhood on all accounts. Therefore I think your Lordship will absolve me *by express sentence* signed also by the two ladies. And I will comfort my self with an assurance that Lord Halifax will according to his express promise, as he is one of the best and most amiable of men, 'take care that whatever he could expect from his father he shall find in him.' These are his express words, among several more very engaging ones, which I will if I can send Lady Jean

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by next post as they tend to set his Lordship's sentiments and my own conduct in a genuine light. . . .

'Tis only for four months the regiment has pay order'd from the government so I hope my dear pupil will soon return to me in peace and with considerable improvement especially by the intimate converse he will have with my Lord Halifax, being in his own *company* as well as regiment, and I think the friendship of a man so universally accomplished and now so high in the King's favour as well as fixed in a long and intimate acquaintance with the Prince and Princess of Wales as well as the Duke [of Cumberland] may be some real advantage in life, if God guard him from immediate danger which it will be my daily prayer that he may.

It was not till four days after this letter was written that Lord Kilkerran received Doddridge's letter of 2nd November. But before then his anger had cooled. It appears from his next letter¹ that Lady Jean had persuaded him to acquiesce in what could not be helped. Moreover, by this time he had given Doddridge credit for his original stipulation that the colours should only be accepted by John subject to his parents' consent. Between 16th and 22nd November John must have received, in another letter from his mother, his father's formal consent to the acceptance of the colours.

Kilkerran. November 22^d, 1745

REVEREND SIR

I received yours of the [2nd]² no sooner than the 20th, occasioned by having no regular correspondence with Dumfries where the letter lay till an occasion offered of sending it to me. When you shall again write, do not omit to mention the date of the letter you receive

¹ Humphreys prints a part of this letter (vol. iv, pp. 447-8) without indicating the omission of more than half of it. I follow Lord Kilkerran's MS. copy.

² Blank in MS.

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from us, being otherways at a loss some times to know what letters you got and what not. And if you have wrote any by Dumfries since that which I have just received, it cannot be expected to reach me, as the Highlanders are now masters of the town and castle of Carlisle which surrendred the moment ground was broke before it, and was entred by the Highlanders without the loss of a man.¹ Such is the intelligence I received by the cover under which I received yours from Dumfries. I understand there were no troops in it, other than the garrison of invalids, the militia and the volunteers, enough to have defended it, if either through cowardice or treachery they had not laid down their arms,² of which the disturbers of our peace are now possest, amounting to about 1500 very fine arms, together with 160 barrels of powder, 500 grenades, and above 120 good horses;³ whereof some, particularly Sir Jo[hn] Pennington's, collonel of the militia,⁴ are said to be of considerable value. I do not hear any reflection on Sir John's own behaviour, but what can a man do when his troops are seized with a pannick?

The behaviour of the town of Edinburgh may have led your people to think oddly of Scotland, but they will by this be let to see that they are not from the behaviour of one place to form the character of the whole people. You may depend upon it that the Presbyterians of Scotland are to a man firm to the present happy establishment. The distinction of partys here is so far different from what it is with you that the Episcopal only in this

¹ The trenches were opened before Carlisle on the evening of Wednesday, 13th November; the town capitulated on the evening of the 14th and was occupied by the Highlanders on the morning of the 15th.

² But the *London Gazette*, quoted in the *Scots Magazine* (vol. vii, p. 530), says that 'for seven days before, neither the officers nor common men of the garrison got scarce an hour's rest, being perpetually alarmed by the rebels.' Many were also sick.

³ The list of captured stores given in the *Caledonian Mercury* and quoted in the *Scots Magazine* (vol. vii, p. 533) gives no figures, but adds, 'likewise many of the broad-swords that were taken at Preston in 1715.'

⁴ Third baronet of Muncaster and M.P. for Cumberland from 1745 till 1768, when he died.

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country are generally Jacobite, and you will not wonder at it when I tell you such has been the lenity of the government that their meeting-houses are not restrained, even while they not only do not pray for the King but in such words as can not be mistaken pray against him.¹ And what can be expected of a young generation brought up in that way?

So much for publick matters, of which I should not have said so much, but that you seem desirous I should say something. I take your intelligence of what is material to be rather better than ours, who know little or nothing of the progres either of the army under General Wade, or of that said to be under the Duke.

As for our own particulars I am truly at a loss what to say to you. The further prosecution of studys is what I have no longer hope of. . . . A man cannot have his head on his bussynes who loses either a supper or a night's rest for what is not his bussynes.² In short, I have no longer any thought about studys, more than I should have, were he any where else than where he is. . . . Even when I have been disappointed this way, I have less cause to complain of misfortune than most of my neighbours, and will no longer struggle against what I cannot help.

Here Lord Kilkerran permits himself a little sarcasm at Dr Doddridge's expense. He alludes to John's 'foolish project' as 'a piece of indiscretion I should not have expected from him when under your conduct,' and continues:

You say that even from that he has gained great [credit].³ I am mighty glad how much he be esteemed, even while

¹ They were afterwards much less tolerantly treated, all the Edinburgh meeting-houses being closed by order of the Sheriffs at the beginning of May, 1746, and most others throughout the country shortly afterwards. In the north several were burnt by mobs (*Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, pp. 247, 288).

² See Dr Doddridge's letter of 2nd November, p. 96.

³ Blank in MS.

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it might be at my cost when I am of a different sentiment. If the offer he gave ground to believe was made him shall be continued, and to his acceptance of which I have at his mother's desire acquiesced, I shall than have a proof of that applause, but otherways such sort of aplauses, which are but words from a croud, could never have misled me.

In his postscript, however, in which he unravels the complicated progress of his recent correspondence with Dr Doddridge, he ends on a note of some satisfaction:

This mark of favour must have been intirely owing to the character you have given of him; he can never enough acknowledge the honour the Earl has done him.

On 23rd November the new regiment marched out of Northampton, and with it went young John Fergusson, bearing his new colours to the admiration of all beholders, fortified by his tutor's prayers and recommendations of him to innumerable friends, and leaving his dog Punch to the care of the Doddridge children. A long letter describing his departure went off at once to Kilkerran.

MY LORD

Our dear young soldier is just marched out very well and in very good spirits. It was thought proper to take these new raised men for a while from their families and neighbours in order to form them a little more compleatly but I will assure you they made as fine a figure as any regiment of foot I ever saw. We expect them back about the end of January if nothing more than ordinary happen. I last night spent an hour with M^r F. alone in my study, and gave him the best advice I was capable relating both to his prudential and religious conduct

JOHN FERGUSSON

after which I solemnly recommended him to God in a prayer in which neither your Lordship nor my Lady nor any of the children were forgot. It cost us a pretty many tears on both sides but this morning he was very alert as thro' the whole affair he has been very resolute. He assures me that with your Lordship's permission he will make up the time that he loses from his study and indeed I hope you will find that notwithstanding the hindrances which these troubles have occasioned both to pupils and tutor he has made some considerable improvements. . . . I keep his chamber vacant till his return and have omitted nothing in my power to make his march comfortable, and am sure that if the Lieutenant-Colonel who is a gentleman of an excellent temper or any gentleman in the regiment, with many of whom I am well acquainted, have any regard for my friendship, M^r F. will want no encouragement which theirs can give him. But Lord Halifax's is more than all. . . .

But as for my wife and children I know not when they will be appeased and pardon my suffering him to go when alas! a superior power carried it much against my inclination. I wish poor Punch does not suffer for it for my girls are so fond of him for M^r Fergusson's sake that I fear they will cram him to death. In short, my Lord, this dear lad does and will gain the affections of all that know him, and as he was carrying his colours this morning up the chief street of our town (which I assure you he did very gracefully) I saw the tears in the eyes of several about me who do not belong to my family. I shall not fail to pray for him daily and wish I may not be too solicitous about him. I have not so contemptible [*sic*] an apprehension of the Highland army as most have entertained. I fear they will escape the body of our forces by speedy and artful marches which I think they have already shewn great dexterity in, and then they will be too hard for any detachment that can oppose them and will subsist till they receive succours from France which

THE RISING OF 1745

if they should receive in any considerable numbers I expect some very fatal event. . . .

I have just seen one M^r Grant from the neighbourhood of Aberdeen who talks of sending his son to me for education. He enquired very respectfully for M^r Fergusson and seemed to think it quite a right thing that your Lordship had permitted him to join our forces in such a circumstance. . . .

A long letter concluded, as usual, with a postscript:

M^r Fergusson got his mamma's letter last night. His regimentals came this evening and I have sent them by the baggage waggon to Warwick. If your Lordship writes to Lord Halifax it will be safest to direct to him in Audley Street, London. I dare say he will be glad of a line from you and you may enclose any letter to M^r Fergusson in a care to him.

John's uniform went off next day, Sunday, and on Tuesday, 26th November, Doddridge wrote him a hurried letter which began with an enquiry whether the 'regimentals' had reached him, and went on to religious advice)—'always remember God and ETERNITY and you are always safe'—recommendations of Shropshire friends, 'that while you were there you might have some agreeable acquaintance,' and news of the progress of the Highland army and of John's dog Punch ('my girls . . . kiss him 20 times a day as your representative').

'The rebels,' reported the Doctor, 'are it seems coming by way of Leeds and we expect them here in a few days.' On the 20th they were halted at Manchester, 'as well to wait for intelligence as to repair the bridges,' besides hoping for recruits.¹ John's regiment meanwhile had

¹ O'Sullivan's narrative in *1745 and After*, by Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, 1938, pp. 98-9.

JOHN FERGUSSON

reached Bridgnorth, where he bought a newly published book of road-maps for six shillings.¹ Apparently the regiment received no orders to return to the defence of the neighbourhood where it had been raised.

On 2nd December, while the Highlanders were marching on to Macclesfield, Lord Kilkerran wrote to thank Lord Halifax for John's commission, taking the opportunity to emphasize to him also the loyalty of the greater part of Scotland to the established government. This letter may have been written as soon as he had read Dr Doddridge's of 23rd November.

MY LORD

I have the pleasure to know from Dr Doddridge that my son has the happiness to be so much in your Lordship's favour, as to have received such a mark of your regard, and at the same time such expression of tenderness for him, as to me affords the most sensible comfort, and for which your Lordship will [permit?] me in his name to make the most grateful acknowledgement. I had, it's true, intended him for a very different station in life, for which his constitution seemed more fit than for a military employment, and with that view committed the care of his education to one of the best of men. But if this was his turn of mind it must have broke out sooner or later, and could not well miss to break out now, when the good Doctor's warm zeal for so good a cause would animate every one about him. And had I been ever so much disposed to disapprove it, the happiness to have my Lord Halifax for his patron and friend must over all considerations have prevailed to gain my approbation. It remains only for me to hope and wish he may behave in such a manner as not to give your Lordship cause to

¹ *Chorographia Britanniae; or A New Set of Maps of all the Counties in England and Wales . . .* by Thomas Badeslade, Surveyor. London, 1745. John's copy is in the library at Kilkerran.

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repent the honour you have done him, and that he may improve in those good qualits to be learned from the exemple of his patron.

I have let the Doctor know with how little reason it is that the generality of this country are in England suspected of disloyalty. I can assure your Lordship that but a small number of the low country other than persons of desperat circumstances have joyn'd the Highlanders, and that the greatest, the far greatest and best part of this part of the United Kingdom are firmly attached to our present happy constitution and ardently wish success to the measures for preservation of religion and liberty and for the glory and peace of the country, towards which your Lordship has bore so great a part, and have only to add that I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and
obedient humble servant

[KILKERRAN]

Dr Doddridge's next letter, written on the evening of Saturday, 7th December, 'in answer to your last favour of November 22nd,' describes the culminating point of the Highlanders' march into England: the arrival at Derby, the uneasiness of the Jacobite leaders at finding themselves unsupported by the English Jacobites and threatened by the two royal armies under Cumberland and Wade, and the fatal turn back to the north. That this was the turning-point of the whole rising no one suspected, least of all the panic-stricken inhabitants of Northampton. It was felt that the unhindered return of the Highland army to Scotland would be only less disastrous than the continuance of their march on London.

Dr Doddridge began his letter with another long defence of his conduct in John's affairs.

JOHN FERGUSSON

MY LORD

I am extreemly sorry that I have had the misfortune to incur your Lordship's displeasure by my conduct with respect to M^r Fergusson's late undertaking, but should be much more sorry if I thought I had by any means deserved it. . . . Your Lordship might easily perceive by my whole conduct I was averse to his going into the army. And I never did nor ever shall think myself chargeable with the consequences of it. That I introduced him to Lord Halifax's acquaintance and gave him an honourable character to him and all the principal gentlemen of the county is a wrong which I hope your Lordship will forgive. I am as little inclined to value some sort of applause as his wise and worthy Pappa, yet I could not be unaffected with that which he received. Lord Halifax's letter¹ would shew you it was not altogether contemptible, nor do I think some other instance of it to be so, particularly when Captain Jekyll, nephew and heir of the celebrated Sir Joseph² (now in Lord Halifax's regiment) said yesterday . . . on my asking after M^r Fergusson that he could not but congratulate me on the great credit that young gentleman did me, as he was the darling of all the officers that knew him and behaved so well and did so much service that every body was surpriz'd at it and did not think it possible that so young a man could in so little a time have made himself so considerable. If your Lordship knew the solidity and gravity of M^r Jekyll and the high character he bears you would think this a circumstance worth knowing. . . .

With the characters of John and his tutor thus re-established, Dr Doddridge went on to give what he

¹ Not preserved.

² Joseph Jekyll of Dallington, Northamptonshire (*d.* 1752). For his uncle Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738), Master of the Rolls, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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claimed to be 'a pretty exact account' of the Highland army's movements.

On Monday last [December 2nd] the Highland army marched to Macclesfield and the Chevalier¹ with his advanced guard came on to Lawton, a town 7 or 8 miles nearer the Duke's army (for 'tis under his command not that of Sir John Ligonier²), which lay then at Litchfield, Newport, Stafford and several neighbouring towns. The Duke ordered them all to rendezvous at Stowe, a market town within two hours' march of the enemies' quarters. But notwithstanding the young gentleman's boasts, when his Highness and his army were drawn up on Tuesday morning [December 3rd] near Macclesfield it appear[ed] that on the return of the Chevalier from his reconnoitring Lawton they had decamp'd and march'd all night with the utmost precipitation thro' Leek for Ashbourne in Derbyshire,³ from whence on Wednesday night [December 4th] to the unspeakable surprize and terror of all the neighbourhood they entered Derby.⁴ Leicester was immediately alarmed and the terror soon spread to

¹ 'A letter dated at Butley-Ashe, two miles north of Macclesfield, Dec. 1, describes the young Chevalier thus. "About three this afternoon marched by the Pretender's son, at the head of two regiments of foot. He marched all the way from Manchester, and forded the river above Stockport, which took him up to the middle. He was dressed in a light plaid, belted about with a blue sash. He wore a grey wig, and a blue bonnet, with a white rose in it "' (*Scots Magazine*, vol. vii, p. 587).

² John Ligonier (1680-1770), afterwards 1st Earl Ligonier, came of a French Huguenot family and began his military career as a volunteer under Marlborough. He reached the rank of lieutenant-general and was knighted in 1743. He commanded the troops sent home from the Continent on the outbreak of the rising, and at the end of this year held the command in Lancashire; but on 22nd January 1746 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Austrian Netherlands.

Ligonier's brother Francis was appointed Colonel of Gardiner's dragoons after Prestonpans. He died of pleurisy soon after the battle of Falkirk.

³ 'We had a fine moon-light night,' records O'Sullivan, 'and we had need of it, for we marched by by-roads, and if it was not for the hard froste, we cou'd never get our artillery out of them' (1745 and After, p. 100).

⁴ At his entry into Derby the Prince was riding the horse which had been Colonel Gardiner's (Doddridge's *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honourable Colonel James Gardiner*, p. 188). Doddridge cannot have known this detail at this time, or he would surely have mentioned a circumstance of such interest to both his correspondent and himself.

JOHN FERGUSSON

Northampton where they were fully expected on Thursday night and whither they might undoubtedly have come by Friday noon [December 5th and 6th]. But the Duke immediately sent two thousand horse to Coventry whither they came on Thursday night and word was then brought to us that they would be here on Friday forenoon. Orders were also given to us to prepare to receive the whole army, and a place was fix'd upon for their incampment on the north side of the town. This was soon carried to the rebels who had march'd their van guard to Nottingham on Thursday morning, but with instructions to meet them at Leicester the next day in their way to us. But on hearing of the Duke's intended march hither they were recalled and it was resolved to march out of Derby towards Ashbourne again which was the way they came. This march they begun yesterday about noon, halted a mile from the town as if they intended an incampment, and said they would then wait and give the Duke battle, but on a sudden march[ed] off trotting their horses very hard not excepting those that drew the ammunition and carriages. By this means they have effectually slip'd and distanced both our armies.¹ They have by to-night reached Lecke, the Duke's army was at Merriden by Coventry at 2 this afternoon and will have enough to do to reach Litchfield to-night which is near 20 miles behind the rebels. And their visit to Nottingham quickned Wade's march, so that 'tis thought he is now near that town and consequently has all the Peak, whose roads are to his army unpassable, between him and the enemy. In consequence of this as our horses are in sad plight they will not be pursued at all and what the consequence of their return-

¹ This circumstantial account of the precipitation of the Highland retreat is an interesting contradiction of Sullivan's assertion that 'we retired and follow'd the same road that we came by, but not with the same dilligence, for the Prince wou'd have a stroake at the enemy and the men were for it likewise, but Cumberland was not informed of the retraite, as we were told, til two days after' (*1745 and After*, p. 103).

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ing unattack'd and unpursued to Scotland will be God only knows. I tremble at the apprehension of it.

Thursday night was the saddest hurry at Northampton that has ever been known in the memory of man. All the valuable goods every where were pack'd up and buried or carried off. The inhabitants were ready for flight at the first dawn of the morning and many went off in the darkness of the night and I find the terror spread not only to Newport, Dunstable and St Albans, but also to London. A colonel (Kennedy)¹ who came this evening express from the King to the Duke assures us privately that his Majesty and the Duke of Newcastle imagined that the fate of the kingdom depended on that of Northampton, for could they have pass'd us without opposition which by a resolute stretch they might have done, London had been in no posture of defence (how monstrous a thing!), the credit of the Bank had sunk, and then my Lord you know the consequence. This thought fills me with horror. We have had a narrow scape but if wiser methods are not quickly taken it will be only a short reprove. I must conclude abruptly with our due compliments and the assurance that I am invariably affectionately and zealously

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obliged
and obedient humble servant

P. DODDRIDGE

In a postscript Dr Doddridge reverted again to the matter of John's commission, in terms which imply that John had been too optimistic about his father's probable attitude when discussing it with his tutor.

I shall be glad of a line to hear you acquit me as I think your Lordship *must do* now you understand my

¹ Probably Lieutenant-Colonel James Kennedy, who was appointed Colonel of Graham's Foot (43rd) on 18th February of next year. He became a lieutenant-general in 1759, and died in 1761.

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conduct. If M^r Fergusson represented the matter a little artfully, as I much suspect, he is taken in his own snare and I wish him well out of it.

On 13th December Cumberland's and Wade's troops at last effected a partial junction at Preston, the Highland army having reached Lancaster. On the 15th, when the Highlanders were at Kendal, the main body of Wade's forces was at Boroughbridge, and Cumberland had not got beyond Lancaster on the 17th. The weather was bad, and the roads appalling. 'The road from Kendal to Penreith was so broak that no carriage cou'd passe,' wrote the Jacobite quartermaster-general, 'so that the Prince . . . was obliged to take the mountain road, where he had all the peines in the world to passe his cannon; we had the cruellest rain that day, that ever I saw.'¹ Under such conditions the Highlanders could march faster than the royal troops, and, except for a skirmish at Clifton, near Penrith, between their rearguard and a body of Cumberland's dragoons, there was no fighting before the last of the Jacobite army crossed the Border on the 20th. For the moment the pursuit was not carried beyond the Border, and the Highlanders continued on their way in two divisions through Dumfries and Moffat to Glasgow, where they arrived on Christmas Day.

John Fergusson, meanwhile, was among the royal army which followed the retreating enemy. It amounted to some 8,250 foot and 2,200 horse, but a large proportion of these were only recruits: the Duke of Montagu's and the Duke of Kingston's horse, and Lord Gower's, Lord Halifax's, Lord Granby's, and Lord Cholmondeley's foot, were all newly raised regiments. The bulk of the force was several days' march behind the Highlanders. On 30th December they recaptured Carlisle, in

¹ *1745 and After*, p. 106.

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which a Jacobite garrison had uselessly been left behind. All were taken prisoner, and John was put in temporary charge of some of the captured officers. It seems that he had been confirming the good opinion his superiors had formed of him; but there was no truth in the rumour, which Dr Doddridge in his optimistic affection was very anxious to believe, that he had been already promoted to the rank of lieutenant. John wrote to his tutor from Carlisle on 19th January to describe his experiences on the march north:

REVEREND SIR

After so long a silence one scarce knows how to begin, but I think so much hurry as we have been in may serve in some measure for an excuse. We were hasten'd from Preston to Carlisle by long marches over rocks and mountains frequently amongst the clouds which frighten'd and fatigued your Northamptonshire friends not a little. All the way as we went we met with visible marks of the distress and confusion of the rebels, such as graves of men and the roads strew'd with dead horses. The prisoners taken here are a parcel of poor needy wretches mostly English¹ who were sacrificed in order to save the rest which I hope will prevent them from ever trusting the Highlanders again. I had 4 of the chief of them under my care one day, Sir John Arbuthnot² and 3

¹ An inaccurate reckoning. According to the list in the *Scots Magazine* (vol. vii, p. 580), there were 20 officers and 93 other ranks of the 'Manchester regiment,' as well as 'James Cappock, of Lancashire, made by the Pretender Bishop of Carlisle'; but of Scots there were 16 officers and 256 other ranks, with the Jacobite Governor of Carlisle, John Hamilton, and a surgeon. There were also a few French and three British officers serving with them.

² He had been in the French army and was now a captain in Lord John Drummond's regiment. In February, 1746, he was pardoned on condition of transportation to America. He was the son of Robert Arbuthnot, who left Scotland for France after Killiecrankie, and nephew to the celebrated Court physician Dr John Arbuthnot, the friend of Swift and Bolingbroke. See *The Prisoners of the '45* (Scottish History Society, 1928-9), vol. ii, pp. 14-5, where, however, it is erroneously stated that he was a French knight—actually his father was knighted by the Old Chevalier.

JOHN FERGUSSON

other English gentlemen. Sir John exclaims much against France for deceiving them by fair promises. We had t'other day a report spread that there were 10,000 French landed, but I believe without foundation. . . .

I am

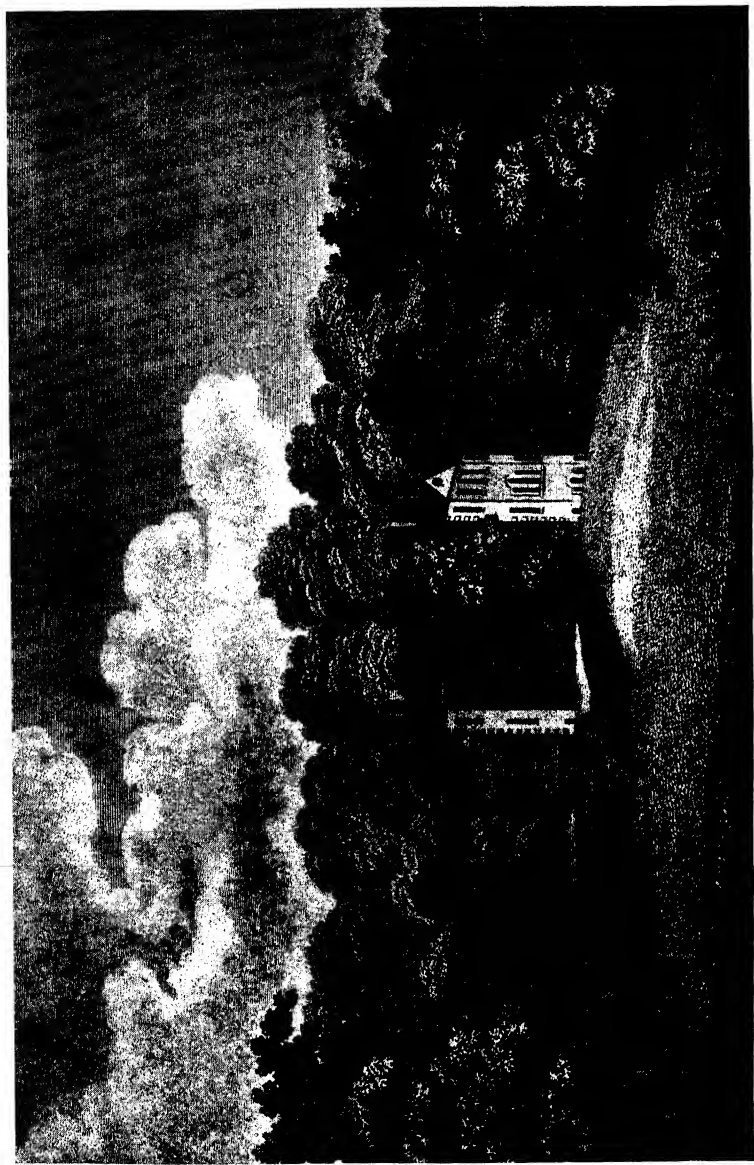
Reverend Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

JN^o. FERGUSSON

Meanwhile important news from Ayr and Glasgow had been reaching Kilkerran, where John's family must have learned with relief that the army which had alarmed Britain from Inverness to London had gone past them northwards. On the 2nd of January an Ayr correspondent, Alexander Moore, wrote to tell Lord Kilkerran of the requisitions the Highlanders were making on Glasgow and the towns to the south of it. It is noteworthy that Moore starts by alluding simply to 'them'—the sinister pronoun needing no explanation. He mentioned that the Collector of the Land Tax for the shire of Ayr had been peremptorily ordered to 'transmite what cess was in his hands in September last and likewise what cess is fallen due since under penalty of the severest military execution,' and that 'the gentlemen of this shire' were ordered to have 86 horses ready by January 16th, of the value of £10 sterling each. The rest of his letter consists of an interesting budget of rumours concerning the movements and plans of the Highlanders.

We have sure account—I think it may be depended on—that they are making att Glasgow 12000 shirts, 6000 pair of shoes, 6000 pair hose, 6000 blew bonnets, besides the upper short coats, all the above att the expence of Glasgow, from thence we gather their numbers.



KILKERRAN AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



THE RISING OF 1745

They say they are in very good quarters and that they hear our army is in quest of them but they do not value them, they will soon give them battel, but this last is doubted by every person, for we apprehend they will not face our army but retire to some other place when it approaches.

This forenoon I spoke with Thomas Lewis elder, merchant in Glasgow, who is [i.e. has] no fewer than twelve of them in his house, they behave themselves in a very rude way. He tells me that Sunday last about 140 of them were att Paisley and their demand was no less than £1000 starling and that a part of them went to the laird of Blackstone's¹ house about two miles from Paisly and made a demand of corn and hay which was accordingly sent to Glasgow Munday last, beside they riffled his house, yea they did not wait for the keys but broke up the chests, drawers, &ct. and carried off every thing that made for them, yea they tooke the very servant women's cloaths, yea even the young children's cloaths, so far M^r Lewis.²

I forgot in the above to acquaint you that they say they will not leave Glasgow till famine oblidge them. Since writing of the above a letter from Kilmarnock is come which says that it's thought they will nott come this length but that they are going out in small parties towards Stirling for their greater accommodation and there meet with Lord John Drummond who is to bring up all his artilery and they are to lay seige to Stirling Castle, how far to be credited I leave to your Lord-

¹ Alexander Napier, 4th of Blackstoun, 'who entered into the army, and was a captain in the Scots Greys about the year 1730. He rebuilt the house of Blackstoun on a more modern style. The old house had been burnt by accident. He died about the year 1751' (Crawfurd's *General Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, ed. Robertson, 1818, p. 377).

² 'On Munday the 30th, the r[ebel] army was reviewed on the Green, and their number might amount in whole that came into the place between 4 and 5000. During their stay here, many poor familys were oppressed, having them quartered on them, and several places in town and country, under pretence of searching for arms, were plundered; the country was much harassed with demands for forage' (*Diary of George Brown, merchant in Glasgow, 1745-1753*, privately printed, 1856, p. 52).

JOHN FERGUSSON

ship. The Duke of Perth,¹ the said letter bears, is already gone from Glasgow with that view with upwards of 200 men and it's thought they will march all of them in that manner. Lord Kilmarnock is now much pacified by what he was. He says as the same letter bears he only will come with 50 or 60 of the best horse if he comes att all. All those that were very forward in raising and sending out militia pay swingely [*sic*] for it. It's computed the cloathing att Glasgow will cost £8000 starling, they have taken hostages from Paisley for their £1000. . . .

In spite of John's being so near to Kilkerran as Carlisle, his family did not know of it even by 15th January, on which date Lord Kilkerran wrote to Dr Doddridge:

REVEREND SIR

This is the first letter I have wrote since I wrote that to you² which covered mine to the Earl of Hallifax, and lucky it was I then wrote the Earl for the very day thereafter I was seized with the gout in my hand which has travelled between hand and foot ever since, and I should have no small addition to my misfortune to have been oblidged so long to delay my acknowledgment for the uncommon marks of favour his Lordship had shewn my son. I am now free of pain but a weakness still remains. We had the pleasure of yours to my wife of the 31 of December² by last post, which was the more agreeable that it is now upwards of a month since the date

¹ James Drummond (1713-1746), styled Duke of Perth, and grandson of James, 4th Earl of Perth, was Prince Charles's lieutenant-general at Prestonpans, and commanded at the sieges of Carlisle and Stirling. He died on 11th May 1746, on the way back to France, 'his constitution being quite exhausted by fatigue' (Douglas's *Peerage*, ed. Wood, 1813, vol. ii, p. 365).

His brother, known as Lord John Drummond (above), reached Scotland in late November, 1745, with 800 Scottish and Irish troops, who disembarked from six transports at Montrose, Stonehaven, and Peterhead, the only actual military succour the Jacobites received from abroad during the rising. John later escaped to France, and afterwards distinguished himself under Marshal Saxe, but died of a fever at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747.

² Not preserved.

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of the young officer's last letter, and a fond mother's anxiety is ready to suggest a thousand misfortunes. I foresaw from the beginning as I constantly wrote you that there was an end to all prospect of further studys. But I am now become quite easy and see things in a light which you'll not wonder not to have been at first obvious. Since his turn was for the army I might have crusht him but could not have diverted it, and I look on it as a remarkable good providence that it discovered itself at a time when by your means he was to be favoured with the countenance of so great a man so able to do him service in that course of life as in any other. As this is a circumstance which might not again have happened to him in the whole course of his life, so it is peculiarly just that it should have happened by the means of Dr Doddridge, who but six months ago should have thought it as unlikely as I should have then done that he was, however undesigned, to be the [*illegible*] and instance of it. If he shall go on as he seems to begin, it is like I shall come to think as warmly of him as you speak (for I profess I believe you are rather fonder of him than I am). The account yours brought of his promotion to a lieutenancy surprized me, but as it were so uncommon a favour that you speak doubtfully whether he does not stand in routine in the Earl's own company, (which by the way I think rather essential as he should thereby be captain-lieutenant tho' amongst the youngest, if not the very youngest ensign brought over the head even of all the other lieutenants) I am almost tempted to doubt your information; wherefore the address in the inclosed is left imperfect, to be filled up as you shall find proper.

The skirmish at Clifton, though its actual result was to clear the Highland rear and prevent any further hampering of Prince Charles's retreat, gave rise to a rumour of a Hanoverian victory. To this Dr Doddridge refers in his next letter, which was written to Lady Jean

JOHN FERGUSSON

on 18th January, in reply to one from her which has not survived.

. . . The same tidings which you had just then [on December 23rd] received of the defeat of the Highland army had also reach'd our parts—how it came to spread so generally through Britain I know not. My sentiments on hearing the news and on finding it a misinformation were I dare say the same with your Ladyship's. It is a great delight to me to find my good Lord Kilkerran, in whose affliction I most heartily sympathise and of whose recovery I beg to hear, does not blame my conduct with respect to my dear pupil. I might perhaps mistake the passage in one of his letters in which I imagined that he did and am by no means desirous of proving that it was not intirely my own error. His Lordship has so genteel and tender a manner and yet at the same time so much meaning in all he writes that I am pardonable if I imagined a little more than there really was. It was not however owing to a consciousness of having deserved blame and I am sure if I had deserved a little the affliction I have had in parting with this charming youth, which is much more than I should have found in sending any one of my children to a distance for the same time, is more than a sufficient punishment. I have however the comfort often to hear of him and always in every respect well. His constitution, Madam, seems rather to be strengthened than weakened by the fatigues of a military life, which good Captain Rankin a friend of Colonel Gardiner's whom I saw the other day tells me he has often known to be the case. I a little question the truth of the promotion I mention'd to a lieutenancy but I thought it came from very good hands, and I am fully assured it will very speedily be if it is not already. I have . . . engaged Lord Halifax to supply M^r Fergusson with money on the credit of my bills which establishes an easy and certain method of remittance.

THE RISING OF 1745

I wish I had any good news to send your Ladyship from these parts. If my informations from London be right there is a shrewd suspicion of treachery in some who are under the highest obligations to fidelity and secresy. There are almost daily quarrels and reconciliations between our ministers and there seems to be wanting more mutual confidence and more reason for it. I fear little views of self-interest and an attachment to artifice in tricks and jobbs have made it difficult to find wisdom to project and courage and ability to execute any truly great and generous design. It is evident that Cope is in great disgrace and Wade has lost a great deal of that reputation which he had (with some people) by his late conduct. If my Lord Kilkerran be well enough to read and has not yet seen a pamphlet called 'The Occasional Writer, or an Answer to the Second Manifesto of the Pretender's Eldest Son'¹ I will venture to recommend it to him as a piece which I am sure will please him and which I believe he will judge worthy of the Lord Chief Justice Willes² who was undoubtedly the author of it.³ It is written with a solidity, spirit and decency which renders it in my judgement truly admirable as the Bishop of Oxford's sermon on the rebellion also is. The Lord Chief Justice I mentioned above has a son with M^r Fergusson in Lord Halifax's regiment⁴ and as he is a young gentleman of great sense and merit I dare say there is friendship between them. . . . We have been

¹ Published at 1s. in November, 1745. A long extract appears in the *Scots Magazine* for December (vol. vii, pp. 562-570).

² Sir John Willes (1685-1761), Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was in Parliament from 1722 to 1737, became Attorney-General in 1734, and was knighted in 1737 when he became Chief Justice. He was offered the Chancellorship in the Pitt-Newcastle administration, but the offer was withdrawn on his demanding a peerage as well. He married Margaret Brewster and had four sons and three daughters.

³ The authorship of *The Occasional Writer* is generally ascribed to William Grant of Prestongrange (afterwards Lord Prestongrange), who became Lord Advocate on 26th February of this year.

⁴ Another son was a captain in Montagu's horse, another newly raised regiment (*Scots Magazine*, vol. vii, p. 543).

JOHN FERGUSSON

in great fears lest you should have had a disagreeable visit from some of the gentlemen of Lochebar [*sic*] which it will be a great pleasure to us to hear that you have escaped. We know not whether we are to expect our young gentleman here within a few weeks which some talk of, or whether he is to be quartered at Carlisle, however I have the pleasure to be assured that they will not be ordered to a scene of actions unless there should be a very unexpect[ed] emergency.

As usual, Doddridge was unable to end his already long letter without a postscript:

As I have wrote with something more freedom than I intended when I began this letter it will be a great pleasure to me to hear it comes safe. I can certainly assure your Ladyship that there is such a zeal to support the present government in the inhabitants of these inland counties and I believe in most others in England that no difficulties prevent the people's rising in its defence and I assuredly believe that were his Majesty to set up his standard at Northampton more than an hundred thousand would flock round him in ten days. . . .

A scrap of paper bearing what is evidently part of the draft of a reply in Lord Kilkerran's hand to this letter refers in disapproving terms to Lord Chief Justice Willes, whose character was not indeed an attractive one:¹

The pamphlet you recommend I have long ago seen, and have the same opinion of it you have; notwithstanding [*illegible*] if there be such intimacy between your pupil and the son as you suppose there may, I shall wish his morals may be better than his father's.

¹ 'Although a man of splendid abilities, he was selfish, arrogant, and licentious. . . . His talk was either about law or lewdness' (Lord Campbell: *Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*, 1849, vol. ii, pp. 266, 277).

THE RISING OF 1745

On Friday, 17th January, was fought the battle of Falkirk, 'in which,' as an eyewitness put it, 'about 7000 of the best troops in the world fled like so many children before half that number of undisciplined militia.'¹ Of the senior officers on the government side, the only one who distinguished himself was 'Daddy' Huske, who coolly covered the retreat and prevented Falkirk from being another Prestonpans.

The first news of this battle which reached Kilcarran was in a letter dated from Glasgow on 19th January. Alexander Moore sent it on to Lord Kilcarran on the 21st with a short covering note written below it:

MY LORD

The above is the fullest of all our letters we had here anent our inglorious defeat. Any thing that is in the rest is that General Hawley received an express att 10, another att 11 aclock, another att one—had it not been for General Huske even he had not credited either of them for it's plainly said he had no scouts out. . . .

The correspondent's name has not survived. He gives a pretty accurate account of the action, with only a few mistakes over names:

. . . The Highland army had been encamp'd on Plean or rather Skeoch Muir betwixt Torwood and Bannockburn.

Upon Thursday the whole of our army advanced to Falkirk and encamped at the west end of the town. Their number 12 regiments of foot and Cobham, Gairdner² and Hamilton's dragoons.

Upon Fryday the Highland army were seen in the morning to be in motion, but it was thought it was only

¹ *Caldwell Papers*, 1883, Part II, vol. i, p. 77.

² Now Ligonier's.

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with a design to amuse¹ the King's troops. However about 11 of clock there was an express came and told Generall Hawley that they were advancing who after having deliberate a little upon it beat [to] arms. They went out and from some eminence near the camp, viewed the roads they were to come, and seeing no appearance of them, concluded it was a false alarm. Upon this the artillery were again unyoked and the army went to prepare for and got dinner. But before this was done, to their great surprize (so far as we can understand) the outscouts brought in word that they were within a litle of them upon which in hurry and confusion the whole army was called out and the best dispersitions made no doubt that time would allow.² The Highlanders advanced and had a considerable advantage not so much from the ground as from the excessive storm of wind and rain in their backs which both disorder'd the King's troops and hindred them from using their firelocks in a proper manner. The attack began about 4 o'clock or a litle sooner by our dragoons upon our left and the Highlanders' right wing. They advanced 2 or 300 yards before the foot and of a sudden galloped in upon the Highlanders who were drawn up in a line of one two and three men thick for above a mile in lenth. The dragoons received the Highlanders' fire and it's uncertain whither themselves fired or not, but when they were closs on them they wheel'd back and not being supported by the foot we beleive did little execution.³ Upon this our foot still advanc'd but slow. The Highlanders advanc'd apace, and after they were almost closs both fired and ours severall times but immediately began to yeild and then the left wing gave way and run and by degrees the rest tho' it would appear our right wing stood

¹ Delude.

² O'Sullivan says: 'The enemy knew nothing of our march until we were just near the river' (1745 and After, p. 116).

³ O'Sullivan says: 'Our Highlanders stood so firm, and managed so well their fire, that they cou'd not pierce, nor turn bridle fast enough' (*ibid.*, p. 118).

THE RISING OF 1745

it longest. The ground was about a mile to the westward of Falkirk upon the muir. Our forces went back to the camp and in to Falkirk in order to save the baggage. The Highlanders pursued but slowly. Generall Husk (who behaved most gallantly) held by the town and rallied 4 regiments of foot and when the Highlanders came up made a most vigorous defence and killed a good many of them and beat them back, but when he saw the whole possey coming up desired his men to retire and accordingly went off with them. Generall Haully who it's said behav'd in the field extreamly well endeavoured to relly the dragoons again but to no purpose so as to make any head with them and when he found this he give it over and apply'd to striking the tents and getting them, the artillery and baggage with the amunition carried off but to litle purpose for the horses appointed to this end were gone off so that so far as we can learn the whole fell into their hands except 2 or 3 covered waggons and 3 peice of cannon.¹ Our whole army went to Lithgow that night and to Edinburgh on Saturday where they still remain and were joyned by Semple's regiment and the Scots Fusileers but both regiments I beleive not above 500 men. There is no word of the Hessians. The Highlanders took possession of Falkirk and their prince of Callander House² where we beleive they still remain. It's given out that they are to pursue.³ It's said there are but 6 officers left of Hamilton and Gairdner's dragoons which is a strong sign they behav'd better than what's given out.

Colonel Whiteham, Colonel Monro with Colonels

¹ 'In our march to Falkirk we found seven pieces of cannon, some smal morters, several waggens of amunition, &ca. . . . They abandoned likewise their camp and bagage' (O'Sullivan's narrative in *1745 and After*, p. 119).

² 'The Prince profited of General Hally's supper which he wanted very much, for he had not a bit of his own, nor either did he eat a morsel that day' (*ibid.*).

³ O'Sullivan says that the Prince was anxious to pursue the defeated army next day, 'but no body wou'd hear to that propposition' (*1745 and After*, p. 120).

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Powes and Bowls are killed¹ with severall other officers and Cuningham of Enterkine wounded but it's quite uncertain who or how many are gone but it's beleived by every body here that there is not above 200 of the King's troops both killed wounded and taken and that there is a greater number of the Highlanders cutt off, tho' in private letters from themselves they give out that there's 400 of ours and 100 of theirs killed. Considering how our army seems to have been intimidate it's beleived had the Highlanders got in on them sword in hand or even if Generall Husk had not got those 4 regiments rallied again that our army had suffered much or most of them been taken. It's said by some that the Highlanders are 7000, by others 10000, but it seems to get most credite and I truly beleive it that they are 8 or 9000. Our army at the largest computation were not above 7000 regular troops and the Argyle and Glasgow militia which might be 1500 but neither of these were engaged tho' both on the field, for the way they were placed and as the King's troops went off they had no time, tho' we have lost some of our men. But it would appear that their Collonels went off and left them standing in the field by which they suffered. However most of them thro' pett at their loss and perhaps thro' fear at last run and are got home. Excuse scribbles for tho' this is confused as is also our intelligence yet I beleive from it you may pick out most of the facts of this melancholy action.

John Home, in his *History of the Rebellion*, does not corroborate this writer's account of the defection of the militia colonels, though he says that the captain of the Edinburgh company left his men to get instructions from

¹ The names should be Lieut.-Colonel Whitney of Ligonier's dragoons, Colonel Sir Robert Monro of Foulis, commanding the Black Watch (his brother Dr Duncan Monro was also killed), Lieut.-Colonel Powell of Cholmondeley's regiment, and Lieut.-Colonel Biggar of the Black Watch. The Monros' graves can be seen in the churchyard at Falkirk.

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Hawley but without success.¹ A contemporary diarist recorded some other details of the fate of the militia forces in the royal army:

The Argyle, Paisley, and Glasgow militia were at the action. Of the militia there was a company of Kintire men taken, the lieutenant called Duncan McNair was killed, and two captains and ensign taken of the Glasgow militia, besides a good many private men. A good number of Glasgow men who were spectators, and some ministers were all taken, and the prisoners were carried all to Stirling.²

The total losses of the royal army at Falkirk amounted to three or four hundred private soldiers,³ and 'there were a great many officers killed, for goold watcheses,' comments O'Sullivan ironically, 'were at a chape reat.'⁴ A rather more accurate estimate of the dead than that of Moore's correspondent was given on 23rd January in a letter to Lord Kilkeran from Dr John Stevenson, who had now returned to Edinburgh from Ayr. His letter began with a reference to Lord Kilkeran's gout, expressing his satisfaction 'that the tar water had done you so great service'; but most of it, written plainly in a hurry, consisted of war news.

. . . I deal little in news, but had a letter from a man in Ayton⁵ telling their town on Wednesday was oppress'd with a number of canon, and 500 horses, that came without warning and is eating at their hay stacks: at the same time one from Kelso says that this night a squadron of L[ord] M[ark] Ker's dragoons is to be there, and that Montagu's horse is to follow. In the mistrust of Falkirk

¹ John Home: *History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745*, 1802, p. 172, note.

² *Diary of George Brown*, *ut cit.*, pp. 57-8.

³ Home, *op. cit.*, p. 177, note.

⁴ *1745 and After*, p. 120.

⁵ A village a few miles north of Berwick.

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more were lost on each syde than they confess with. I guess by the death of Collonel Monro, Lieut. Collonels Biggar, Powel, Whitney, and —, and by the loss of 5 captains out of one regiment,¹ there must be more than 2 or 300 men. The Highlanders have lost they say but 43, but [I] think there must be many more when L[ord] Jo[h]n Drummond has 3 shot in the breast, Lochyel a shot in the heel, and sevrall other officers hurt.² Captain Thornton was hid by a wright and came in here yesterday with his lether apron on as a journey man. The Glasgow regiment was broke [*i.e.* disbanded] yesterday, their subscription being out: they lost 2 officers and some men. Stirling holds out, for the battery has not begun to play. Officers are divided, one half say they can not stand till Sunday, others that it will be safe 14 night. Yesterday Blakeney fir'd much and it's said kill'd 17.³ What think you Baillie Dundas says in the castle? 4 deserters before Fontanoy taken in the French ship were hang'd this day.⁴ Had the Hauley army stood, the other wou'd have been defeat. Had the Highlanders known how they run away they wou'd have demolish'd them and perhaps have come hither. Providence hitherto has been one way. Whether it will be more favourable to the fresh recruit, or to the D[uke] of Cumberlan if he comes as is expected, or to the Hessians if they come, time must try; but it's wonderfull. Usual compliments—farewell.

¹ The five captains were of Wolfe's regiment; Blakeney's lost four captains and two lieutenants (Home, *op. cit.*; p. 117, note).

² 'The Highlanders acknowledged that their army lost three captains and four subalterns, with 40 men killed, and twice as many wounded' (*ibid.*). Lord John Drummond was only slightly wounded by a soldier whom he tried to seize in Falkirk after the battle: 'the souldier strugled with him, got off, fired at him, and shot him in the arm' (1745 and After, p. 119).

³ General William Blakeney, afterwards Lord Blakeney (d. 1761), who commanded the garrison of Stirling Castle, allowed the Highland preparations to go on 'until the cannon was in battery, and then began to fire, destroyed our battery, and disabled our cannon in one night, so that there was an end to our siege' (1745 and After, p. 121).

⁴ They were Francis Forbes, John Irvine, David Welch, and Henry Macmannus, all Irishmen. Macmannus had deserted to the Highlanders after Prestonpans (*Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 42).

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On 29th January Dr Doddridge wrote to Lord Kilkerran, enclosing the letter he had just had from John describing his march to Carlisle and custody of Sir John Arbuthnot, and full of optimistic pride in his pupil.

. . . I really think he writes in a more manly way than he seem'd some time since to do, and I cannot forbear thinking that committing prisoners of so much importance as Sir John and his three brethren in iniquity and affliction to our young officer's custody was a pretty substantial mark of confidence. Captain Isted,¹ a gentleman of great character and £4000 per annum in our neighbourhood, is just returned from the regiment and spoke the other day at his table of my dear pupil before a great deal of company in very high terms of respect which I took the more notice of as it came from a gentleman by no means prejudiced in favour of any member of my family as such. I fear I was misinformed as to the lieutenancy but I am pretty well assured there will be a vacancy speedily. . . . I perceive Mr Fergusson's situation at Carlisle is very agreeable and my remittance of ten guineas more to him the other day will I dare say not render it less so. I think with great pleasure my Lord of his return next month and shall do my utmost for his improvement while I continue honoured with his abode at my house. I have a young gentleman here with whom he studied, I hope to pretty good purpose, since he came from Scotland, who is a very good master of French and would I believe be better able to teach him than any one in the town. I find Lord Halifax is not only fond but proud of him and I dare answer for it that he will serve him to the utmost in every thing in his power, and I think his interest both in the Duke and the Prince of Wales will put a pretty deal into his power. . . .

¹ Captain A. Isted of Ecton, Northamptonshire (*d.* 1781, aged 64).

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The rest of this letter consisted of still more apologies for the protracted misunderstandings over John's commission, and of almost interminable good wishes for the prosperity of Lord Kilkerran and every soul connected with him, concluding with the words:

My children are well and Punch continues to be caressed by them often on their knees so that one would almost think he were Anubis and they Egyptian damsels.

CULLODEN AND AFTER

ON 30th January 1746 the loyalists of Edinburgh had visible proof that Nemesis, in the welcome though unattractive person of the young Duke of Cumberland, was on the track of Prince Charles Edward, whose victory at Falkirk was to be his last. Early that morning the Duke entered Edinburgh with some extra troops, and the citizens knew for certain that they were safe from another entry of the Highland army and from such exactions as had been laid upon Glasgow. The force of Hessian troops to which Alexander Moore's correspondent of 19th January had alluded landed at Leith a few days after Cumberland's arrival. In a letter written from Ayr at 7 o'clock in the morning of 4th February, Moore reported the progress of affairs to Lord Kilkerran.

MY LORD

Thursday morning last at three a clock, the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh, att six att night of the same day, he caused the drums to beat and that with orders to have all the forces in readiness to march Friday morning be five aclock (and in that time it's thought that ane express if not moe were dispatched to the Highlanders) which accordingly they did. The very last of them were out of Edinburgh before nine, that night they went to Linlithgo, the Highlanders that were there and at Falkirk had retired to Stirling in the morning and a good many of them went from Stirling to Frew where they passed the Forth. Saturday morning the Duke ordered all his cavalry with the Argyleshire militia to follow after them and when they came to Stirling the whole posse of them were gone, and passed

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att the same place where many of them had done on Friday; one of our letters say they were seen in Deer or Kier park a little below Dumblain¹ on Sunday, the other letter says only a part of them were there and the rest dispersing, which is truest time must discover.² 3 or 4 days erre they marched from Stirling they had sent away about 100 prisoners to the castle of Doun who were spectators att the battle near Falkirk. It's likewise said the Duke came to Stirling with the whole army Sunday night. The Highlanders left several of their big guns behind them, some say ten, and they carried the rest with them.³ There [*sic*] magazine which was in S^t Ninian's church a mile this side Stirling was blown up, some say by accident others designdly because two of there own engeneers are blown up with it, and thirty persons in general, but the other letter says the thirty were of the neighbourhood.⁴ They took all there baggage with them but what is somewhat strange they forgot to carry with them the two hostages from Glasgow—if I right mind they were for either 5 or 6000 pound starling.⁵ We apprehend here that the Duke will follow them, till this unnaturall rebellion be intirely quelled. The above letters came by our express whom we sent off to Glasgow Sunday att 5 att night and came here last night att 9, the letters I did not see but as I heard and I believe your Lordship may depend on what's above though perhaps not so pointedly done, I think I have omitted

¹ Park of Keir.

² O'Sullivan says that 'some had already marched that day [Saturday, February 1st] for Perth, and the rest set off the next morning' (1745 and After, p. 127).

³ See 1745 and After, pp. 124–8, for O'Sullivan's own account of the attempts to carry off the guns and their failure.

⁴ There seems to be no doubt that the explosion was an accident.

⁵ A sum of £15,000 was demanded from Glasgow in September, 1745, but this was later reduced to £5500. A quantity of clothing was also demanded, as described in Alexander Moore's letter of 2nd January, of the value of £10,000. These demands not having been met when the Highlanders left Glasgow, they carried along with them two Glasgow merchants, Archibald Coates and George Carmichael, as hostages.

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no circumstance that's worth wryting. I saw a letter from Lady Jean to my sister in law, and what she wants there shall be minded but I jealous [*i.e.* suspect] the flour will be difecult to be got here and the touns will be dear. I had half a dozen myself home and they stood me no less in Dublin than five and six pence. . . .

Another letter, written on the evening of the same day as the last, brought Kilkerran a few more details. The writer of this was Captain John Dalrymple of the Inniskilling Dragoons, a brother of Sir James Dalrymple of North Berwick and of Hew Dalrymple, Lord Drummore, and a brother-in-law¹ of Lord Kilkerran's cousin Sir John Whitefoord. 'Barginny,' to whom he alludes twice in the following letter, was his nephew John Hamilton of Bargany, whose house was a few miles down the valley from Kilkerran. Captain Dalrymple was at this date in his fifty-third year, and a widower. His cheerfully casual letter is simply dated 'Barginny. Tuesday's night.'

MY LORD

Your Lordship will think that I deserve to be hanged for not keeping my word of sending you good news as I promised by M^r Duff²—I confess I do so, but it was not forgetfullness, but another thing which I dare not name for fear of loosing favour with my good friend Lady Maitland.

I heard the news last night, but I had got two bowls of punch first, and I set out from the place with a purpose to write to Maybol³ where M^r Paterson was sending a person—but unluckily I fell in with another bowl, and the folks were so fond of his Royal Highness that, chiming in, my letter to you slipped out of my mind. This day I

¹ Not a son-in-law, as stated in the *Scots Peerage*.

² William Duff of Crombie (*d.* 1781), husband of the writer's niece Elizabeth; appointed Sheriff of Ayr in 1747.

³ Maybole is about five miles from Kilkerran.

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thought [of] having the honour of being with you to-night but giving myself up to the charge of Barginny held me a road which I thought would be the last ever I was to ride. Well, the Duke set out on Fryday, lay at Hopton [Hopetoun] house, and had advice on Saturday morning Feb. 1st that the Highland army was retreating toward the fords of Frew, he dispatcht Hawley with the dragoons and Col. Campbell with the Argyle Highlanders who enter'd Stirling in the afternoon. The Duke and the army followed. On Thursday they [the Highlanders] began to send off the baggage, and on Fryday and Saturday they all past the Forth, and 'tis said they are encampt by Keir's house. They left all the battering cannon behind them, and their magazine in St Ninian's blew up by which several people were killed. They have taken with them all the prisoners they had among which are Mr Muirhead the Doctor's chaplain [and] Mr Simpson the minister of Falla—both these gentlemen seem to be unlucky in the choice of their trade. Wither- spoon of Beith too is prisoner, but the hostages from Glasgow were left behind, the deputys from that place were introduced by Lord Cathcart to the Prince¹ who was very gracious. The town of Air send Provost Garvine and Baillie Sloan to compliment his Highness but they don't go off for a day or two that they learn where the Duke is.

Now if your Lordship has not heard this there is news. I have nothing now to do but to make amends for not coming in by you but Barginny must answer that before we go back to Air. I beg my compliments to the ladys, the gentlemen here do the same. I am your Lordship's most humble servant

JOHN DALRYMPLE

Next day, 5th February, Lord Kilkerran wrote to pass on this good news to Dr Doddridge.

¹ *I.e.* the Duke of Cumberland.

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REVEREND SIR

As in your last to my wife of the 18 of January you expressed some concern to know it had come to hand as you had wrote with some [more] freedom than you had intended, it had been answer'd sooner, had we not at so critical a time thought it proper to delay a few days till we shou'd see what effect the Duke's coming down would have upon the state of things in the countrey which had so threatning [an] appearance after the ill conducted affair of Falkirk. And now I am at liberty to write with pleasure. I think the Duke may say more than Cesar did—*veni, non vidi, vici*, his very name seems to have brought terror along with it,¹ you'll have the particulars in the London Gazett before this can reach you. It were therefore unnecessary for me to write them. Some who favour the wrong cause pretend that they are still to stand it on the other side of Forth where in case of a defeat they have a ready escape into the Highlands. But I can have no such notion, nor can any man have it who reflects on the hurry with which they ran away when informed by their friends from Edinburgh of the Duke's orders to the troops to march on the Friday morning [January 31st], leaving their heavy cannon which they had not even time to nail² and forgetting the Glasgow hostages they had for the demanded sum of £6000, though I should not mention the blowing up of their magazine in the church of S^t Ninian's, being uncertain whether it was of design or by accident. As the Duke is in pursuit of them I am in hopes to hear they are dispersed and fled to their Highlands. We have, God be thanked, had [the] happiness to remain as quiet in this

¹ Similar sentiments are expressed in an epigram published in the *Scots Magazine* at the end of this month (vol. viii, p. 79):

'More great than Cæsar's arm is William's name:
Him *veni, vidi, vici* gave to fame;
He came, he saw: our Prince, with equal ease,
Still conquers coming, and before he sees.'

² *I.e.* spike. O'Sullivan blamed Lord George Murray for neglecting to do this (1745 and After, p. 128).

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part of the countrey as if no such thing had been, tho' God knows we are no better folks than our neighbours, and as we seem not duly sensible of the mercy in our lot when our neighbours have been grievously oppress we have reason to be affraid of some other judgement abiding us.

My wife, who is at present not very able to write with her big belly, is uneasy that she hears so seldom from her son, and no doubt that neither do you hear often. I see by the English journals that the regiment is order'd for Carlisle. I should be glad to know that it be so—as it is little more than two days' journey from this place he might in spring have leave a week to see his friends. . . .

This paragraph illustrates the slowness of communication between Lord Kilkerran and his correspondents during the rising. John had now been at least a month at Carlisle, but, Doddridge not being aware of this when he wrote to Kilkerran on 18th January, John's parents were still in ignorance of his having been for so long a time within comparatively easy reach of them. John had, as usual, neglected to write home.

The conclusion of Lord Kilkerran's letter looks to the future, it being now obvious to him that the extinction of the rising was only a matter of time.

One good thing might I think result from this unlucky affair, that it might add no small weight to the King's interest with foreign powers when they see that (some Scots Highlanders excepted) he reigns over the most loyal subjects, which the freedom taken with the administration may have induced them to doubt.

I am yet uncertain whether my letter to E[arl of] Halifax came to his Lordship's hand; if I were sure it did I should be easy, for I scarce expect his Lordship should write as I have not the honour to be known to him.

CULLODEN AND AFTER

On the day this letter was written there were drawn up the new rules for the Edinburgh assemblies, which were revived by a group of Edinburgh gentlemen which included Lord Minto and Lord Drummore. Their preoccupation with the time and order of dances, the dresses of the dancers, the serving of tea, coffee, and negus, and the segregation 'in a sett by themselves' of 'misses in skirts and jackets, robe-coats and stay-bodied gowns,' is a fantastic but eloquent proof that Edinburgh society was convinced that the turmoil and excitement of the rising were over for the capital, and that normal occupations and amusements might continue once more.¹

Further evidence of the resumption of normal life in southern Scotland and England is the fact that Lord Kilkerran's letter of 5th February reached Dr Doddridge in the usual ten days or so of peace-time communications, so that Doddridge was able to reply to it on the 18th. In the meantime there had been a political crisis at London. It was deliberately forced by the resignation of the Pelham ministry, who were determined to show the King and his unofficial advisers, Lord Granville and Lord Bath, that they must have his confidence, or, as they put it, 'the closet, without which they could not carry on the King's business.' By a prearranged plan, Lord Harrington and the Duke of Newcastle, the two Secretaries of State, resigned on Monday, 10th February (not Tuesday as Doddridge says), and Henry Pelham, who was Newcastle's brother and First Lord of the Treasury, with others on the 11th. Five Dukes (not nine, which is Doddridge's lavish calculation), Grafton, Devonshire, Richmond, Argyll, and Montagu, were,

¹ See Appendix 1 for the full list of rules, of which a copy is among Lady Jean's papers. Lady Jean was appointed one of the 'Ladies Directresses,' the others being the Countesses of Leven, Glencairn, and Hopetoun, Lady Minto, and Lady Milton.

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according to the scheme of cumulative resignations, to go out on the next day. But by this time Granville and Bath had found it impossible to form a government, and resigned after 48 hours in office—the satirically named ‘Long Administration.’¹ This affair is alluded to in later letters, besides the following one from Doddridge which incidentally was written at a time when the battle of Falkirk was still rumoured to have been a royal victory.

MY LORD

Tho’ I have been extreemly ill all night and am this morning far from well, I think myself obliged in duty to take a minute to return you my immediate thanks for this happy intelligence with which you were pleas’d to honour me in yours of the 5th instant which the last post brought me. I join with your Lordship in acknowledging the gracious appearance of providence in our favour, and what Lord Somerville writes me by the same post of the influence which the wounding Cameron of Lochiel and the accidental death of Macdonnald of Glengear² had on this great event is a farther illustration of it. May it ever be suitably acknowledged by the British nation. I took the earliest care to inculcate so seasonable a lesson in a sermon which I hope quickly to have the honour of sending to your Lordship.

I pray God to support good Lady Jean in her approaching extremity and hope that before this can reach you my dear pupil will be with you and will have

¹ See W. Baring Pemberton’s *Carteret*, 1936, pp. 270–4, and, for a close-up contemporary view, *The Marchmont Papers*, ed. Sir George H. Rose, 1831, vol. i, pp. 171–4.

² ‘Glengary’s second son, who commanded the Glengary men, was killed . . . a few days after the battle, by the accidental firing of one of the rebels’ pieces’ (*Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 42). The owner of the gun was one of Clanranald’s men, and ‘was order’d immediately to be shot in order to prevent mischief happening between the two clans’ (David, Lord Elcho: *Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746*, ed. Charteris, 1907, pp. 380–1). This incident led to many of the Clanranald men deserting.

CULLODEN AND AFTER

brought Lord Halifax's apology for so long a silence which I think if he receiv'd your Lordship's letter in time nothing but the extream hurries of his late marches and engagements could have occasion'd in a nobleman so perfectly well bred. . . .

I doubt not but your Lordship was astonished at the late sudden revolution in the ministry. On Tuesday last both the principal Secretaries of State did indeed resign—nine Dukes and the Chancellor were to have gone out on Thursday and Lord Chief Justice Willes was to have had the seals,¹ but on Wednesday King Pelham as his M[ajesty] humourously calls him and his brother the Duke had so grand a court of both the Houses that it was plainly seen the dissolution of the Parliament and embarrassment of all our publick affairs at this critical juncture must have been the consequence of adhering to the new scheme, so it was wisely laid aside to the great joy of London and so far as I can find of the country too.

If dear M^r Fergusson be with you I beg your Lordship would make our most affectionate compliments to him and assure him we long to see him again. I sent him in my last in which I inclosed your Lordship's former letter a draught for ten guineas on M^r Jackson under cover to Lord Halifax which was my second ten guineas draught. I shall be glad to hear it came safe to hand and that he is safely arrived. I cannot say how full my heart is of tenderness for him nor how I rejoice to hear as I do every two or three weeks how greatly he is esteemed as well as beloved in the regiment. Abundance of sincere and affectionate compliments reach him from hence but I have a melancholy story to tell him of the poor creature he left behind² whom all the fondness of my children and the whole family could not preserve from the malice and cruelty of some bad neighbour. It is I find an unlucky

¹ Actually Willes refused the Lord Chancellorship. See Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

² The dog Punch.

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thing to make favourites of four-legged gentry and not always safe to do it of those who have but two, even tho' they be also, according to Plato's definition of a man, without feathers and with broad nails. The fatal accident happened while we were at meeting, whither the poor creature was with his usual fondness attending the children when he fell into those barbarous hands that cut off that fine tail. But he seems in a promising way of recovery whereas we thought he had bled to death.

But my wife tells me I write too much for the present state of my health. I must therefore conclude with our united compliments to your Lordship, Lady Jean and the whole family, most heartily wishing as we all do, younger and elder, that your Lordship's feet may come back after your hands and that they all may for a long time be servicable to the good head and heart to which they belong and to the publick for which they are all so faithfully employed.

Kilkerran wrote again to Doddridge on 21st February, before the foregoing letter could reach him.

REVEREND SIR

Since I had the pleasure of yours of the 29 of January I have had a visit of your pupil from Carlile who brought me a letter from the Earl with such a character of him as should make you too vain [to] know and discover too much fondnes in me to repeat. It is enough to tell you that the letter is wrote pretty much in your own stile, and I am apt to think you'l before this time have had the Earl's opinion from his own mouth, who allowed him only a stay here of four days, as my Lord could not as he wrote me leave Carlile till he should return, of so much importance is the young gentleman, as he is to have the charge of [the] company when my Lord carrys his lieutenant M^r Vernon along with him. It is not amiss I also tell you that we save the trouble of a

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remittance which I foresaw might soon be wanted. I gave him £25 along with him which shews you my opinion of his sobriety and discretion. As the regiment will probably be laid aside at the end of the four months for which their establishment is prolonged, which will fall to be pretty much about the time your vacation commences, I flatter myself with the hopes of seeing you both at Edinburgh this summer. I have another boy who will soon be ready for you, but you must promise not to breed him a soldier.¹ This boy is a good Latin scholar and seems to have a turn for learning and as much application as one could wish.

I need say nothing of the state of affairs in this country as I have nothing to add to what you have in the news papers, but reports which are as oft false as true. In general we hope soon to hear that the rebels who still fly before the Duke, but at the same time keep together in different bodys, are wholly dispersed. The sending His Royal Highnes hither was one good measure and has brought a great deliverance to this poor country.

Our attention is now turned upon the civil war at London which tho' not to be attended with blood may with other bad consequences. . . .

One of Lord Kilkerran's correspondents during the last weeks of the Jacobite rising was Robert Wightman, an old man living in Edinburgh—though he prudently retired to Newcastle when the Highlanders occupied it—who was a perpetual fountain of pessimistic rumours and gratuitous advice about the conduct of the campaign. Several letters of his written at this time are to be found in the *Culloden Papers* and in the Weston Papers printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. He had been a spectātor of the battle of Prestonpans, and had

¹ This was Adam, now nearly thirteen years old. He fulfilled his father's hopes of him by becoming an advocate, being admitted to the Faculty three years before Lord Kilkerran's death; and he ultimately succeeded to the estate of Kilkerran.

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earlier, in collaboration with Colin Maclaurin, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Edinburgh, drawn up 'a plan for fencing the city, in some such manner as was done *anno* 1715, which was somewhat done . . . but nothing to the purpose.'¹ His preoccupation with military matters led the editor of the *Culloden Papers* to describe him as 'General Robert Wightman,' perhaps confusing him with General Joseph Wightman who won the battle of Glenshiel in 1719 but had been dead since 1722. The error has been regularly repeated ever since.²

Wightman was actually a merchant in Edinburgh—so he describes himself when making his will in 1748—and must be identical with the Robert Wightman who was Treasurer of the city of Edinburgh in 1716–7, First Bailie in 1719, and Dean of Guild in 1720–21. In 1720 he had brought out at his own expense the first edition of Thomas Boston's *Fourfold State*, having some disagreement with the author over parts of the work.³ His connection and influence with the magistracy are shown by his letter to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Lord President, of 14th January 1746, when he remarks, 'It's surprising to see so much order and quiet in this place when there is no magistracy. I am endeavouring to promote the measure of a new sett; I hope with some success.'⁴

This busy veteran was on intimate terms with the Lord President,⁵ Lord Loudoun, Lord Kilkerran, and other prominent men, and did not spare the Lord President and his other correspondents the same kind of gloomy forebodings and ill-judged advice as he showered

¹ *Culloden Papers*, 271.

² E.g. in Sir Robert Cadell's *Sir John Cope* (1898) and more recently in Mr George Menary's *Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden* (1936).

³ Historical MSS. Commission, Laing MSS., vol. ii, pp. 201–2.

⁴ *Culloden Papers*, 527.

⁵ Cp. a reference to him as 'Robin Wightman' in *More Culloden Papers*, ed. Warrand, 1927, vol. iii, p. 49.

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upon Lord Kilkerran. All through January he was imploring the Lord President—who was doing, as the slippery Lord Lovat put it, ‘more service to King George and to his family and government than if he had an army of 5,000 men in the north’¹—to abandon his work of strengthening the loyalty of the northern chiefs and preventing recruiting for the Highland army and to come back to Edinburgh. He wanted Forbes to ‘take the government of this town till we get a new constitution of government,’ and to ‘apply some remedy to the present disorders here’—which on his own evidence were non-existent.² At the same time he urged on Lord Kilkerran the greater safety of Edinburgh as a residence compared with Carrick. His twin bugbears at this period were a conviction that the Highlanders intended a fresh incursion into England by way of Argyll, Ayrshire, and Nithsdale, and a terror—not entirely without grounds—of a French invasion in their support. ‘I’m much affraid,’ he told Forbes on 14th January, ‘the whole force of France and Spain will be bended against both Holland and us in a few weeks. If they land armies in the island, then I know its fate.’³ To another correspondent he wrote, on 29th March: ‘I have good reasons to think the rebels have no intention to remain at Inverness longer than till they have train’d His R[oyal] Highness the Duke thither. They mean no more by the show they now make of giving him battle at Spey or Inverness, than to place him and his army at a great distance when they make a second attempt upon England by marching . . . thro’ Argyleshire into the shire of Ayr, and thence thro’ Nithsdale to Carlisle.’ Even the news of Culloden did not relieve his fears, and he continued to worry about a foreign invasion—‘I wish the French may

¹ *Culloden Papers*, 289.

² *Ibid.*, 527, 310.

³ *Ibid.*, 527.

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have gott other fish to fry than to think of invading Brittain.¹ His letters, in short, are amusing specimens of a type of opinion common in all national emergencies—that of the armchair critic who always knows better than those whose business it is to carry on the war, and who believes and propagates all the most alarming rumours in circulation.

His letter to Lord Kilkerran of 22nd February contains one more allusion to the political crisis of the 10th and 11th.

MY L[ORD] K[ILKERRAN]

I have only to add to what I wrote yesterday that the Hessians are partly gone to Stirling, the rest with the Prince Frederick and the Earle of Crauford are still here. If the French send the 1800 men, they have ready to imbarck, the winds have favoured them so much all this week that we shall soon hear of their having landed at Cromartie. I am of opinion they will go on with that measure, notwithstanding what the news paper says, because their keeping the rebells a-float in the north depends on it, and the consequence of their being kept a-float is to keep our army particularly the Hessians from returning to Flanders. I reckon Brussels lost, unless Providence interpose in a peculiar maner, by bad weather, and some disastrous sickness in the French army, and I'm affraid all Brabant will go with it before an allied army can be brought together to checq the progress of the French. It's wel if Holland its self be not overrun this summer, at the same time that we have busyness given us at home. By a letter from London I see, that Lords Granville and Bath sneakt off from court, in great confusion, when in place of a totall revolution in the M[inist]ry, and seeing himself at the head of it,

¹ To Edward Weston: Hist. MSS. Comm., Weston Underwood MSS. (Weston Papers), pp. 265, 289.

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the seals were returned to the Duke of Newcastle, and my friend Lord H[arrington]. I hope this push of Lord Gr[anville]'s will finish him for ever. The man is dangerous, and is naught.

My dear friend, I have felt no disquietude during all the dangers and confusions of these 7 months past, they have past as so many days with me. But a letter I received from my friend John Binning pains me not a little by way of sympathy when it is not in my power to relieve him. . . .

Wightman goes on to explain the difficulties of Mr Binning and to beg Lord Kilkerran to come to the rescue with five pounds. The expressions used in this part of his letter are an additional proof that Wightman was a merchant and not a soldier.

. . . . It shall be replaced with the first money that come into my hand any how, tho' my own occasions are urgent enough, occasioned by M^r Forrest & Company's not being able to pay for the lead I sold them, as they willingly would do, if all payments were not stopt here still, notwithstanding the banks being opened, because they issue no money upon cash accounts. Excuse this from

Your most obliged and
most obedient humble servant

ROBERT WIGHTMAN

NB: pray! let me know the reason of so great a demand for meal, from the west country, it has a mischievous effect for it has raised and keeps up the price of meal most unseasonably, when the mechanicks can not get work. It's a happy thing that the army supplies its self from England where corn is cheap. Might not your country be supplied from Cumberland and Lancashire by

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sea? A ship's loading or two thence would crestfall our meal mongers, and hucksters.

. . . I'm told Mr Patrick Boyle stands fair to succeed Lord Balmerinoch, if Lord P[residen]t consents to it, and I believe he will.¹

All this time the Lord President had been busy in the north, 'doing,' as he said, 'what I take to be my duty';² labouring, at first 'almost alone, without arms, and without money or credit, provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation. . . . Had arms and money come when they were first called for, before the unexpected successes blew up folly to madness, I could have answered it with my head that no man from the North should have joined the original flock of rebels that passed the Forth.'³ Even though a supine government left the Lord President for months to his own resources, his efforts were so far successful that a bare thousand men of the northern clans rose to join Prince Charles, and of these only the Macphersons, less than three hundred in number, arrived at Edinburgh in time to march south with the rest of his army.⁴ Forbes had procured by his own ceaseless activity the raising of eleven Independent Companies to keep the north quiet, had strengthened and encouraged the loyalty of MacLeod, Lord Seaforth, the Earl of Sutherland, and other of the most influential of the northern lords and chiefs, and by unwearied correspondence with every man of influence in Edinburgh and

¹ Patrick Boyle of Shewalton (*d.* 1761), second son of David, first Earl of Glasgow, was raised to the bench as Lord Shewalton in December, 1746, in the room of James, fifth Lord Balmerino, who had died on 5th January; the latter was the elder brother of the Lord Balmerino who was executed for his part in the rising on 18th August of the same year.

² Historical MSS. Commission, Laing MSS., vol. i, p. 452.

³ *Culloden Papers*, 294.

⁴ See Menary, *Duncan Forbes*, p. 244.

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London on whom he could count had at last got some quantity of arms and money despatched to him for the equipment of the newly raised Companies. In these exertions his chief lieutenant was Lord Loudoun, who had joined him soon after Prestonpans, as official commander of the government troops in the north.

At the end of February, 1746, Culloden and Loudoun were being hard pressed by the advance of the Highland army and had retreated with their forces into Sutherland. The castle of Inverness, with its garrison of two of the Independent Companies and some regular troops, had fallen to Prince Charles. Farther south, Fort Augustus had been in Jacobite hands since the beginning of February, and Fort William was persistently besieged. Although he knew that Cumberland's army was on its way up the east coast, Forbes's position was an anxious one, and was before long to be even more dangerous, at the time when Wightman next wrote to Kilkerran on Tuesday, 4th March.

MY L[ORD] K[ILKERRAN]

I knew on Saturday that Lord L[oudoun] and L[ord] P[resident], not having been reinforced from the Duke's army, no, not by the Argyleshire Highlanders, had retired from Inverness to Cromarty, there to take shelter under the canon of the men of war, which are in Cromartie Road; but did not write you, because I hoped to have ere now known all particulars from my own messenger, whom I sent off to the P[resident], on Munday the 18th of February. They retired on the 18th, and behoved to do so, because the low country rebels from Aberdeen joyned the clan rebels at Nairn and approached from that quarter. This I apprized General H[us]ke of on the 5th February by express the moment I

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heard,¹ of the different routes which the rebels took, when they past the Forth—and stated the consequences strong, at the same time foretelling the intentions of the French to succour them from Dunkirk and Ostend, and hinting the proper methods of disappointing them, and gave him liberty to put my letter into the Duke's hands, if he thought fitt.

I am sorry to see every thing come to pass, as foreseen and foretold; but more sorry that nothing has been done to prevent a thing which has no lesser consequences than revoking the rebellion, and recommending it as it were in a worse maner than heretofore. I say so because they are already said to be 5000 strong, and indeed I will not wonder at it if they are soon double that number, for all the M'inzies will joyn them, and perhaps the Grants also if they see a going game, and they will force all others within their province, which alas! is much enlarged by being masters of Inverness and its castle.

I reckon their first exploit will be to make themselves masters of Fort Augustus and Fort William; the Jacobites say, they are already possest of the former. I dread their being also soon possest of the latter, tho' the garison be reinforced, because I know they want severall necessaries—I say I dread it because this gives them a sea port, and a most convenient one, whence to receive succours from Spain, who doubtless will attack our island with all their might, on that side, I mean the side of Fort William, and southward of it, if it be true that is asserted from Paris, that a peace is clapt up betwixt France, Spain and Sardinia. I mention this to you of sett purpose, to apprise you in time of exceeding danger where you are, from cruel Spaniards, and point out your

¹ General Huske was one of the few military commanders of whom Wightman approved—'an excellent officer, and open, honest man,' he calls him when writing to Culloden on 22nd January. It would be interesting to know if he ended his gratuitous message to the General with the same words as he then used to the Lord President—'Please pay the bearer out of public money, for I have none to spare!' (*Culloden Papers*, 310).

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present place of safety which is the city, where you may be of use; wherefor let me begg of you to crawl to it, rather than stay at Kilkerran, the season is favourable and the roads good, and providence by me calls upon you to remove, the sooner the better.

I know not by intelligence where my friend the P[residen]t is; but I judge he went to Cromartie with Lord L[oudou]n, and I'm sure he'll take the first opportunity of getting to Aberdeen by sea, where the Duke now is. I have some thoughts of going thither next week to see him, and bring him up hither. This is the Sacrament week, and it looks like the first one when instituted, it preceeds intense suffering, it's a male [*sic*] for a long journey. I'm much mistaken if there will be another in Edinburgh for four years to come. Don't despise my warlockship, as you call it—I have too good grounds to go upon, without the least good reason for being accounted an enthusiast, in the worst, or whimsical sence of the word. My affection for the family, the sincerity of my friendship, a thorough sence of obligation, and zeal for your preservation, must apologize for my writing in this maner. It's thus I deliberately choose to shew you that I truely am

Your faithful friend and obedient
humble servant

ROBERT WIGHTMAN

N.B. You'll see the French have not dropt the rebels, when I tell you, the small ship which escaped Admiral Knowles arrived at Aberdeen the day before the rebels marched thence,¹ other two have appeared on the east coast, one whereof is stranded, and the other taken last week.

¹ The last of the Jacobite troops had left Aberdeen on 23rd February. This ship arrived at noon on the 22nd, and landed 'about 130 men, including five officers.' Of the five French transports which were bringing troops and money to the Highlanders' assistance, this was the only one which arrived safely. Two of the others were captured on 21st February off Ostend (*Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, pp. 90, 96).

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This letter, which Lord Kilkerran endorsed 'Strong alarm by R. W. to leave this countrey,' was written on the day when Lady Jean gave birth to the youngest of her fourteen children, a son named James. Less than three weeks later Wightman wrote again, on 22nd March, in much the same strain as before.

MY L[ORD] K[ILKERRAN]

I doubt not but my advice to remove hither as soon as you can, would seem strange and sound harsh. I can not however help repeating it, because I apprehend more and more the French and Spaniards will land in the shire of Air, and I fear leave desolation behind them, when they march through Nithsdale into England. You see from the news papers, that the Duke is intent upon marching to Inverness to dislodge the rebels. This he will easily do; for they have no intention to wait his coming up with them; but will scamper away westward, as Roy Stuart did the week when General Bland was within 3 hours' march of him,¹ he scoured off at such a gate, that even the D[uke] of Kingston's light horse² could not overtake him. Their plan is to make themselves masters of Fort William, under favour of the heavy artillery shipt at Dunkirk (who will go through the Pentland Fryth thither, in place of going to Inverness as is imagined) while the Ferrol squadron already sailed will, I fear, facilitate their invasion of the shire of Air . . . while the D[uke] of C[umberlan]d is at Inverness. In that case judge if you will not be in a worse case, than this place was when General Cope marched to Inverness. I hope Lady Jean (to whom I heartily wish a quick recovery) will be able to travel in the coach before the danger becomes imminent. I do not bid you fly hither, till you see from actual occurrences a necessity for it;

¹ At Strathbogie on 16th-17th March. See *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 145.

² One of the volunteer regiments raised the previous autumn.

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but let me begg of you not to be too tardy. I write you in this maner, singly in the view of quickning you to prepare for a journey.

M^r Millekin told me yesterday, that the regiment of guards from London was arrived at Aberdeen; but I believe his news is premature. Meantime I'm of opinion the wind's at east which cary[ing] the French to Inverlochy will cary them to their port to-day or to-morrow. . .

P.S. It's certainly true that the Argyleshire men who were in Breadalbin, are kidnap^t.¹ I'm to be at Wanlockhead next week, whence you'll hear from me by express, if any thing very material occurs.

N.B. The story from London of an intended jayl delivery here is ridiculous, and in one respect villainous.

On the same day Dr Doddridge wrote from Northampton to acknowledge two letters from Lord Kilkerran. One was that written on 21st February; of the other, which had brought him the news of the new baby at Kilkerran, no copy has survived. Doddridge sent his congratulations. He also reported the receipt of a letter from Lord Halifax 'full of the tenderest expressions of the satisfaction and delight' he had in John; 'his leaving the company under his command proves in the most convincing manner his esteem of him,' added Doddridge proudly. He also mentioned that Lord Halifax 'was something apprehensive of M^r Fergusson's danger from the smallpox'; but this 'my dear young officer' escaped.

'I rejoice greatly,' continued the Doctor, 'in the hope of having another young gentleman of your Lordship's family whom I faithfully promise you not to make a

¹ 'Besides the garrisons of regular forces at Blair and Castle Menzies, there were about 200 Argyleshire highlanders in different-outparties; one at the foot of Rannoch, under the command of Glenure; others at Blairfetty, three miles north, and Kynichan, three miles west of Blair. At two in the morning of the 17th [March], these outparties were all surprised by the rebels, about half a dozen killed, and the rest taken prisoners, except a few that escaped' (*Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 142).

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soldier unless any circumstance happen in which I judge it my duty to bear arms my self.' (This hope, however, was not realised.) He added that 'Lord Sommerville's son is a charming youth and worthy to be M^r Fergusson's companion and friend,' mentioned with a satisfaction which was somewhat premature that 'the third volume of my "Expositor" is now coming out,' and gave a delightful bulletin of the health of Punch:

Poor Punch is quite recovered as to health and spirits and seems to have forgotten that he ever had a tail, and I much question whether he has not found an equivalent in the death of a favourite dog of mine who had all the moral excellencies that could walk on four legs.

The rest of his letter, apart from an anecdote of his having 'sunk in a quicksand the other day in the highway to Wellingborough which is reckoned the best road in these parts, turnpike way excepted,' was devoted to miscellaneous remarks about the rising. 'At home the present aspect is dark but I hope God will clear it up.' Lord Temple 'is in as much infamy here as Cope.' The anecdote about Colonel Gardiner's 'apprehensions the day before the fatal action of Preston Pans' is mentioned, and the Doctor also tells how he had 'preached a sermon on the retreat of the rebels from Stirling a little prematurely—I printed it too and I have order'd it to your Lordship'; but naïvely adds, 'I hope a time will come to make some parts of it more seasonable.'

Meanwhile, on 20th March, the very centre of government resistance in the north had nearly been shattered. Concealed by thick fog, a strong Jacobite force had crossed Dornoch Firth, under the command of the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromarty, and O'Sullivan the

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quartermaster-general. They surprised Dornoch and took it, with 200 men of Loudoun's regiment. But 'the essential point,' in O'Sullivan's words, 'was to take Lord Louden, the President, and McCloud . . . as it was in a manner morally sure . . . we cou'd find out by their correspondence with Cumberland, their vews and projets, according to which we cou'd take our measures.' However, these leaders escaped, and their military chest was carried off in the nick of time by sea. With about 900 men of their irregular force, the Lord President and his companions made their way to Skye. Their active part in the suppression of the rising was over. The Duke of Perth's force, however, had in effect achieved nothing beyond the dissipation of a not very formidable body of irregulars. His men, incidentally, numbered about 1200 or 1500, not the 5,000 which rumour reported in Edinburgh.¹

Robert Wightman had the news a week later, and wrote on 29th March to tell Lord Kilkerran of it.

MY L[ORD] K[ILKERRAN]

I am sorry to tell you that the rebels having passed the Fryth of Tayne in boats collected from the coast of Murray directly to Dornick to the number of 5000 under favour of a fogg, had wel nigh kidnapt Lord L[oudou]n and the Pr[esiden]t. They have however seized three barks, loaded with the valuable effects of the people of Inverness &c. and among the rest [the] Lord P[residen]t's. This account is brought by Andrew Munro, merchant in Inverness, who had charge of the military chest with £2000 in it, who made his escape with it in a small boat, to sea, where he was luckily taken up by the *Vulture* sloop of warr, who brought him hither yester-

¹ For accounts of this episode see *1745 and After*, pp. 137-41; Menary, *Duncan Forbes of Culloden*, pp. 274-6; *More Culloden Papers*, vol. v, pp. 42-7; *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 144, &c.

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night.¹ He says L[oudou]n, and the Pr[esiden]t, fled into Caithness; but as he came away in a panick I do not credit that part of the story; but think they retired westward to their men, who were posted along the coast of the narrow part of the Fryth of Taine to guard it, and flatter my self they have gathered them together, and successfully attackt the rebels at Dornick, unless another body of rebels has passed the Fryth of Tayne nigh the head of it, in which case I fear they are indeed dispersed, and the chieffs fled, as is said. I am affected with my good friend's case; but in no pain about his safety. God will preserve him, and bring him hither in safety ere long.

I say nothing about the Duke, only he is still at Aberdeen, I believe, and will find the rebels at Inverness when he gets thither, if he goes, which I wish he may not for two good reasons. The Hessians marched from Perth on the 24th to relieve Sir Andrew Agnew, who is blockaded in Blair Castle, and had but 4 days' provision on the 23^d and little ammuniion.²

I continue in the sentiment, that the main body of the rebels mean to force their way through Argyleshire into the shire of Air, and thence to march into England through Nithsdale, assisted by French troops from Brest, and therefor once more advise you to be on the wing, and keep a sharp look-out. It remains that I offer duetiful humble respects to the ladys, and subscribe my self with hast

Yours—

ROBERT WIGHTMAN

There is a hint of weariness in Lord Kilkerran's endorsement to this letter—'M^r W.'s fears—advice to fly

¹ The *Vulture* also picked up the Earl of Sutherland, who was credited by the Jacobites with the feat of saving the military chest (1745 and After, p. 141).

² Blair Castle had been besieged since 17th March, and put up a most gallant defence under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, the twelfth and last of the Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway, and at this time Colonel of the Scots Fusiliers. The Castle was relieved on 3rd April by the Earl of Crawford.

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—repeated a 3^d time.’ It is the last of Wightman’s jeremiads, except one. On 8th April the Duke of Cumberland, having spent six weeks in drilling his troops at Aberdeen until he felt that he could rely upon their steadiness, began his march to Inverness. On the 16th he shattered the Jacobite cause in a battle which, fought on the Lord President’s own estate, and bringing the horror of its aftermath into his very house, has for ever linked the name of Culloden, not with patriotism and clemency, but with cruel and shameful slaughter. John Hossack, formerly Provost of Inverness, unconsciously summed up the tragic irony of the peak of Duncan Forbes’s career in a letter to him some months later:

‘Your Lordship smothered the rebellion and procured glory to the Duke of Cumberland.’¹

By the 18th of April Lord Kilkerran must have heard that the royal army had marched from Aberdeen, though the news of the battle of Culloden could not yet have reached him. His letter to Wightman written on that day was probably a request for the earliest news which should arrive of the inevitable encounter, and on the 22nd Wightman duly wrote to him. Even now Wightman could not bring himself to believe that the Jacobite rising had been crushed, and was ready to trust every rumour to the contrary. Kilkerran noted his pessimism in another endorsement: ‘Still insisting on his impressions of the hazard of this country, even after the battle.’

MY L[ORD] K[ILKERRAN]

I have yours of the 18th. I refer you to this day’s paper, for an account of the battle, supposing Hugh

¹ *More Culloden Papers*, vol. v, p. 124.

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McKell has sent it you, to which I only add, that the rebels marched in the night of the 15th from their camp near Colloden, to attack the Duke at Nairn, by surprize; but finding him prepared to receive them, and his camp strong, they held a council of warr, in which they concluded to return silently to their camp. The Duke, knowing all their motions, followed them and decamping at 5 o'clock in the morning marched the last two miles in battle array, which was a great security and advantage. The rebels after canonading awhile came out of their intrenchment, and attackt the Duke's left wing furiously, there were the Frasers and McDonalds;¹ but the regiments of Barrel, Wolf, and late the sixth, Munro's, received them so warmly, without flinching, and killed such numbers that they soon fled.² Their center was so well plyed with canon, and cochorn shells,³ that they all staggered, whereupon the horse broke in, and killed great numbers in the road to Inverness. The pretended P[rince] of W[ales] was not in the engagement but in the rear;⁴ he has had his throat twice opened for cure of a

¹ The MacDonalds were actually on the left wing to begin with, though owing to a readjustment of the line at the last moment some at least of them were 'almost in the center' (1745 and After, p. 163). The Atholl brigade under Lord George Murray was on the right wing, next to them Lochiel's regiment, and then the Appin Stewarts and the Frasers; it was the Mackintoshes in the right centre who began the advance (John Home: *History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745*, 1802, pp. 227, 232).

² Barrel's and Munro's (to the command of which Lieut.-Col. Lewis Dejean had been gazetted the previous day) were the regiments on Cumberland's left wing, with Sempill's covering the interval between them in the second line and Wolfe's on its left and thrown slightly forward. Barrel's and Munro's may not have flinched, but they were completely broken by the charge of the Highlanders, who were checked only by the accurate fire at close range of Sempill's when they reached the second line.

³ A cochorn (usually spelt 'cochorn' or 'cohorn') was a small portable mortar named after its inventor—Menno, Baron van Cochoorn (1641–1704), a celebrated military engineer sometimes known as 'the Dutch Vauban.'

⁴ This is hardly fair to the Prince. He was immediately behind his second line with a troop of Fitzjames's horse commanded by Colonel O'Shea. When his army gave way he tried to rally the right wing; his horse was wounded under him, and his groom killed beside him as he mounted another. Lord Elcho, who commanded the cavalry on the Highland right, says in his journal that 'the Prince, so soon as he saw the left of his army yielding and in retreat, lost his head, fled with the utmost speed, and without even trying to rally any of his scattered host.' But he did not

CULLODEN AND AFTER

squinty. It's odds, but his fright and his flight may throw him into a fever and make an end of him, in which case I think the rebellion may be soon quasht, unless his brother soon suply his place. But otherways, I'm far from thinking our calamity at an end, and your part of the country safe, on the contrary, I think they are now forced upon their project of invading Argyleshire imediatly, and if the Brest squadron, now ready to sail, arrives in Clyde, you will soon see the scene opened which I have long dreaded. I'm the more allarmed, that the 3500 men now in Leith Road are ordered to Inverness, in place of landing at Leith, and joyning the Hessians to form the line mentioned in my last betwixt Glasgow and Stirling. I will impart my thoughts to my correspondent above;¹ but I fear they will not be duly regarded. Assuredly our counfels are infatuated, and thereby we are destroyed, rather than by the power or policy of the rebels. Be therefor upon your guard, my dear friend, and do not flatter yourself with hopes of a speedy end of our troubles. Assuredly the judgement we are under will have the effect, either to reclaim, or to consume and destroy. I see nothing of the former, and therefor I dread the later.

like the Prince, and his account seems to have been dictated by malice. Home records: 'The cornet who carried the standard of the second troop of horse guards has left a paper, signed with his name, in which he says, that the entreaties of Sir Thomas Sheridan and his other friends would have been in vain, if General Sullivan had not laid hold of the bridle of Charles's horse and turned him about. To witness this, says the cornet, I summon mine eyes.' O'Sullivan, though he does not mention this detail, affirms that the Prince refused to retire 'notwithstanding all that can be told him,' and that he himself assured him 'that he has no time to loose, that he'l be surrounded imediatly if he does not retir.' Upon this the Prince reluctantly rode from the field, saying to Laurence Oliphant, younger of Gask, 'No help for it! God is all powerful, who can give us the victory another day' (David, Lord Elcho: *Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746*, ed. Charteris, 1907, pp. 93-4; Home, *op. cit.*, p. 240, note; *1745 and After*, p. 164; T. L. Kington Oliphant: *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 1870, p. 185).

¹ This phrase indicates some person of influence whom Wightman was also favouring with his views and advice. The expression 'above,' meaning government circles in London, occurs frequently in the correspondence of James Nasmyth, a writer in Edinburgh who was contemporary with Wightman (Broughton MSS., in the possession of Mrs Murray-Usher).

JOHN FERGUSON

The post urges, wherefor I only add, that I committ you
and yours to Divine protection and ever am

Your faithful friend and
most obedient humble servant

ROBERT WIGHTMAN

N.B. I do not credit the account of the Duke of Perth and Lochiel's being killed.¹ The father who has been long in the French service was in the battle, and not the son, who was here. He and Keppoch were at home with their people, doubtless to prepare for the invasion of Argyleshire, and not as deserting the cause.² We have as yet no list of our own killed and wounded, they are said to be in all about 200; among the former is L[ord] Robert Ker³ and Captain Grossert⁴ the collector's brother, and among the latter Collonel Rich whose left hand is cutt off.⁵

The President I hope will return from Skie to Inverness triumphantly, accompanied by Sir Alexander M'Donald, and all his people I hope, who will be of great service in hunting and harrassing the rebels amongst their hills, where regular troops cannot go in great numbers. I hope soon to hear of or from him thence.

N.B. The battle of Colloden will perpetuat his memory, tho' he was not in it.

The last sentence, like that of Provost Hossack of Inverness already quoted, had a sinister significance which Wightman did not realise.

¹ Perth died on 11th May 1746 on the way back to France, Lochiel in France in 1748.

² Keppoch was mortally wounded at Culloden.

³ Captain of the grenadier company of Barrell's foot, the regiment which bore the brunt of the Highland attack and lost 17 killed and 108 wounded. Lord Robert was 'in the bloom of youth, and extremely handsome.' At the head of his company he received the foremost enemy, a Highland officer, on his spontoon or pike, but his men gave ground and he, unable to disengage his weapon, 'was surrounded, and cut to pieces' (Douglas's *Peerage*, 1813, vol. ii, p. 141; *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 193).

⁴ Captain Grossette of Price's regiment.

⁵ Lieut.-Colonel of Barrell's regiment. He died of his wounds the following month.

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This long postscript caused Wightman to miss the post with his letter, and he therefore added another instalment to it two days later.

The foregoing letter having missed the post I now add to it, that 1673 of the rebels were numbered slain on the field of battle. The slaughter in the persuit was considerable, in so much that the road from it to Inverness was covered with slain, whence I conclude six or seven hundred may be added to the foregoing number, making in all about 24 or 2500. As for the wounded they are not many, because the rebels declared no quarter before the battle,¹ and therefor gott none. The prisoners may be in all reckoned 700 more, so the number of rebels is diminished about 3000—which is said to be $\frac{1}{3}$ of their number that were in the battle; but I doubt if they amounted to more than 7 or at most 8000, tho' I judge the total there and elsewhere may have been 10,000, the unhappy consequence of their getting possession of Inverness. I want much to know who of their leaders are slain; but I find no certainty of that matter as yet. They spread reports of severall of them which I do not credit. This is so material a circumstance, that I will calculat from it, the progress, or quashing of the rebellion, which I am not so sanguine as to think terminated by this victory, as the honest people here flatter themselves, unless the French abandon them, which I'm affraid is not the case, but will soon appear to be quite otherways. It's said the Pretender is taken; but I do not credit it absolutely, the foundation of the report is that Lord Semple² in his letter to his lady says a report of its being

¹ A very early appearance of this much disputed story. No such declaration was ever made by the Jacobite command. For the text of the actual orders of 14th–15th April signed by Lord George Murray and of the false version of them, see Lord Elcho's *Affairs of Scotland*, Appendix G, pp. 461–2.

² Hew, twelfth Lord Sempill, colonel of the Black Watch from 1741 to 1745. He acted as brigadier at Culloden, and on the 25th of this month was appointed colonel of the 25th regiment. He died at Aberdeen on 25th November, while in command of the troops there.

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so was just now brought him, but he could not rely upon it. He is certainly hottly persued and runs no small risk. He passt through Lovet's country, if he delivers him up, he will finish life suitably. His house is burnt to the ground; but he himself is not to be found, probably he has joyn'd the Pretender in his flight,¹ who had Lord John Drummond with him when he [reached]² the bridge of Inverness.

I ever am as aforesaid

Yours etc.

R. WIGHTMAN

Hugh M^cKell sends you the printed list of the prisoners and account of the battle.³

It was probably by the same post that Lord Kilkerran received a long letter from Dr Stevenson, dated from Edinburgh on 25th April, giving further news of the battle—opening, however, with some medical advice. Its cheerful tone is in strong contrast to Wightman's grumbling. It also contains a generous tribute to the courage and fighting qualities of the Highlanders.

. . . I truly think if your Lordship be able to go to Scarborough, that you shou'd do it this summer. It's pity you was not there last year, but the confusion of the times made home best. One small matter I propose to your Lordship, as an innocent, and frequently beneficial, experiment, for carrying off obstructions, after gout and rheumatism. It is the application of loch-leeches to any part that is in the least swell'd, pain'd, or very weak. That slow partial bleeding to half a gill, will do no hurt,

¹ Lovat was captured in the second week of June by a detachment from the Fort William garrison, while hiding in a hollow tree on an islet in Loch Morar. He was taken to the Tower of London, tried, and executed on 9th April 1747 (W. C. Mackenzie: *Lovat of the Forty-Five*, 1934, pp. 167-73; *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 290).

² MS. torn.

³ Not preserved.

CULLODEN AND AFTER

and do more good frequently than a pound taken at a large vein. Try it with one foot or hand first, and go on according to the event. 3 or 4 leeches may be apply'd, and they may be alow'd to take their fill, and afterward the smal wounds to close of them selves, unless there be a greater quantity than 2 gills, which I wish there were rather as [*sic*] stop the orifices when oozing. The rest of your conduct will be plain to you from previous experience.

I can't but congratulate the ladys and your Lordship on the prospect we have of peace at home. I enjoy'd this prospect from the moment of the Duke's coming here, and ever since providence has seem'd to turn the wheel, at the top of which the Highlanders were when they beat the royal army under Hawley. Their retreat, the resistance of Blair Castle and Fort William, the happy incident of the *Hazard* sloop,¹ were good foundations for an happy prognostication. Part of my auspices were taken from France, which seem'd to be favour'd by providence for a long time; had exulted all last campaign and begun their flourish this spring by taking Brusles. How in a moment did the breath of providence blow to nothing their grand and expensive work of two years in Italy!—and that when we were damp'd with the apprehension that the brave K[ing] of Sardinia wou'd be forc'd to accept of their terms. Then I was perswaded that the libertys of Europe and Great Brittain were not to be sacrific'd to France and the Highlanders; and that we had reason to hope their vain boasting, in the Netherlands, as well as in Scotland, might be blasted. Much is to be hoped if we receive the favours of heaven with humble thankfullness, knowing that the arm of flesh has had little hand in the whole. But it do's not set me to preach, therefor burn this epistle straight.

¹ This ship, which was captured by the Jacobites in November, 1745, and was very useful to them as a supply-vessel, was driven aground and recaptured by Captain O'Brien of the *Sheerness* on 26th March.

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The Highlanders have done Scotland honour, they are the best marchers, and best fighters, of any raw people perhaps. Their attack is hardly to be sustain'd by any regular body, for Barel's did what men three deep cou'd do, but were broke thro'; and had it not been for the force of Semple's, and the superior service of our cannon, I know not how the day might have gone. Still it seems probable that their broadsword will not be a match for gun and bayonet, if we double our files. I imagine the battle of Fontenoy and this were alike, where the superior cannon and military skill got the better of the fiercest courage.

M^r Stapleton was taken along with Cromarty.¹ You can't imagine how happy Lord Reay² is with what has happen'd once and again in Sutherland. I chat with him once in two days. . . .

Perth, Lochzel younger and Lord George Murray came to Ruthven of Badenoch with 800 men of whom many [were] wounded; they were to go directly to Lochaber, where they were to meet their Prince and his people who went up the north side of Ness. What body they can make or how they can feed them, time must tell. I wish they were all in the Capitol.

Whether it's right or wrong enthusiasm I know not, but there's nothing more common than to make the folks we like favourites of heaven. The D[uke] of C[umberland] is cry'd up to the skys, and seems to be a hero. Before the action he shew'd more circumspection than his years promis'd. In the battle he was most where there was most suspicion of weakness. The Royal [Scots]³ he stuck by when the Highlanders came and fir'd their pistols at them, and prevail'd with them to keep their firelocks on

¹ Brigadier Stapleton, who commanded the Highland second line at Culloden, had landed at Montrose with Lord John Drummond and a few Scottish and Irish troops soon after the return of the Highland army from England. He surrendered to Cumberland after the battle.

² George, third Lord Reay (1678-1748), had raised one of the earliest of the Independent Companies, which was commanded by his son.

³ On the right of the front line.

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their shoulders. Cobham's¹ shew'd some unwillingness, as they also did at Falkirk, to charge; he galop'd up to them and cry'd 'Now, gentlemen, one stroke for old Cobham, he is not with you, let me be your collonel for this day,' and led them to the charge.²

Dr Doddridge's letter to Lord Kilkeran of 26th April, conveying his 'congratulations on the Duke's victory over the rebels which I hope will free us from any further apprehensions from them,' did not run to his usual length. He was more concerned at the moment with the health of his wife, who had just suffered a dangerous miscarriage and had been 'by the physicians ordered to Bath.' His daughters Polly and Mercy were ill also, and when writing to John Fergusson on the 22nd, before the news of Culloden arrived, he remarks, 'My heart was on the whole perhaps never more burthened on a variety of accounts. I wish I had you here, both to amuse me with your sprightly conversation, and to comfort me with your friendship.'

. John was still at Carlisle, apparently finding his military duties rather fatiguing, but discharging them with the same conscientious enthusiasm as before. Lord Kilkeran mentioned him when writing on 17th April to an old friend of his at London, Brigadier-General William Douglas. Douglas belonged to the Kirkness family of that name, which descended from Sir Archibald Douglas, third son of the sixth Earl of Morton. His wife was Anne, third daughter of the third Earl of Carlisle. She had been married before to Rich, fifth Viscount Irwin, who died in 1721; her second marriage was

¹ One squadron of Cobham's dragoons was on the right flank, two others on the left. It was the horse on the right that charged first (Home: *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30, 234).

² I can find no confirmation of this anecdote, but it may very well be true.

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against the wishes of her family, but she was deeply in love with Douglas, as appeared after his death in 1747. He had been buried in the chapel at Kew, and she made a will giving particular directions that she should be buried beside him.¹

Douglas's reply expresses the fear that Lord Kilcarran had already felt: that in the clearing up of Scotland after the rising the country would be treated as if the outbreak had been a national one, and the loyalists confused with the disaffected. This fear was fully justified. 'We are all accounted rebels,' wrote ex-Provost Hossack of Inverness to the Lord President after he had called at Cumberland's headquarters to express the hope that he would 'mingle mercy with judgment.' This mild plea, from a staunch supporter of the government, met with a brutal reception. 'Damn the puppy!' exclaimed Hawley. 'Does he pretend to dictate here? Carry him away!' There were shouts from the staff-officers of 'Kick him out!' and Hossack was literally kicked downstairs. 'Sir Robert Adair had the honour to give him the last kick upon the top of the stair to such purpose, that Mr Hossack never touched a single step till he was at the bottom of the first flat.'²

Cumberland himself described the President, Lord Stair, and Lord Crawford as 'arrant Highland mad' for desiring lenity to be shown to the dispersed Highlanders; and other people in London who knew nothing about the Highlands considered Forbes's mild policy, which had done so much to reduce the extent of the rising, to be worse than weakness—'greater advantages and encouragements cannot be imagined for rebels than in Scotland.'³ General Douglas, from his position in

¹ *Scots Peerage*, vol. v, pp. 16-17; Douglas's *Peerage*, 1813 ed., vol. ii, p. 274.

² *The Lyon in Mourning* (Scottish History Society), vol. iii, p. 73, &c.

³ See Menary, *Duncan Forbes of Culloden*, pp. 283, 287, note.

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London, was able to observe the ugly reaction there from the panic of the previous December.

London. April 30th 1746.

MY LORD

You have this to acknowledge the honour of yours of the 17th past and to thank you and all my good friends of your family for their good wishes and kindness to me. I did not in the least know that you had a son in the Army nor did in the least imagine you cou'd have one of an age proper for it: how time passes away and old age steals upon us!

Your son at present is at a great distance from me, his regiment being at Carlisle; but if ever we shall meet, which, if he sticks to the trade, 'tis likely we may, nothing in my power that may be of use or service to him shall be wanting.

I am concerned to hear from Captain M^cDowal¹ that you have been much afflicted and for some time laid up with the gout; I sympathize with you the more from having had a most severe fit of it my self since my return from the country, and in both feet, which confin'd me for near three weeks, and still has left a weakness and tenderness behind: I own it surpriz'd me, never having given me the least warning by any symptom of it, before that severe attack, nor had I deserv'd it by any irregularities of my own, having been always a man of sobriety and exercise. You sedentary gentlemen, the sober and regular, have a better title to it.

I am extremely glad that you have enjoy'd quiet in your corner, and that the whole will now have it; the cure you wish'd for is now perform'd and a great good it

¹ William MacDowall of Garthland, captain in Huske's foot. He was Lord Kilkerran's nephew, the eldest son of his sister Jean who married Alexander MacDowall of Garthland. He rose to the rank of colonel, and died on 9th August 1775. He sold Garthland in 1760 to his cousin William MacDowall of Castle-semble, whose daughter Graeme married Lord Kilkerran's son George (afterwards Lord Hermand) in 1793 (Agnew: *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, p. 614).

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surely is in general; tho' an unspeakable misfortune to the nation that there was any occasion for it. These unhappy, deluded, constant tools of France have in a great measure ruin'd their own country, hurt this, and given a very wrong turn to the whole affairs of Europe: the government and indeed the whole people here are so justly exasperated that vengeance will certainly pursue the criminals to the hight of justice, if not of rigour, for in the heat that mankind are in here, I wish they may keep within the rules of law and equity, and that some innocent mayn't be lump't with the guilty; we are out of fashion at present, and disaffection has been most unjustly and indiscriminately imputed to the whole nation, I wish I could say to the furious,¹ zealous, and ignorant only, when ev'ry one that knows any thing of the country must be perswaded, that above three-fourths of our people, all the Presbiterians, are more zealous for Revolution principles and this family than the generality of the people here; but conviction in this must be left to time. Your nephew² is very well and is to be with Lady Irwin³ this night at a party of whiste, he is very much in her favour as well as mine. Pray make my best and most respectful compliments to my Lady Maitland, Lady Jean and all the young ladys whose names are unknown; I am with sincere esteem

Your Lordship's
most obedient and
most humble servant

WILL: DOUGLAS

'The notion the English have of Scotland in general' was Lord Kilkerran's endorsement to this letter. General Douglas's apprehensions that the government would

¹ *I.e.* mad. Cp. the old legal phrase for lunatics—'fatuous or furious persons.'

² Captain MacDowall.

³ There were three Lady Irwins alive at this time. Douglas probably refers to Anne Scarborough, wife of Henry, 7th Viscount Irwin, whose brother-in-law had been Lady Anne Douglas's first husband.

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not 'keep within the rules of law and equity' in their treatment of Scotland after the rising were all too well justified. Law was broken in this very year when the Jacobite prisoners were brought to trial at Carlisle and other places furth of Scotland—a breach of the Act of Union of 1707 which had been similarly committed after the rising of 1715. Among transgressions of the rules of equity the most flagrant and most resented was the government's refusal to extend the Militia Act of 1757 to Scotland. It was not till nearly half a century after the 'Forty-Five that Scotland was allowed to have a militia.

Apprehensions of this kind were still in Lord Kilkerran's thoughts when he next wrote to Dr Doddridge on 19th May.

REVEREND SIR

I had wrote you on the first intelligence of our signal deliverance which under God was owing to the valour and conduct of the Duke, who may with truth be called our second deliverer, if I could have informed you of anything worth knowing, but as there has been no correspondence ever since His Royal Highness left Stirling with our [*illegible*] at Edinburgh (for what reason I shall not say) our only certain news are from the London Gazet. I return you thanks for your sermon which is just come to hand by the carier,¹ and as nothing could be more suitable to the occasion as you then apprehended it, so neither do I think there is one expression in it you have occasion to regret as premature, as you all along speak of it only as a deliverance begun. I think it is the opinion of the learned world that even the inspired prophets of old were impelled to say many

¹ 'Forty years ago . . . some families in this part of the country, connected with the Courts of Session and Exchequer, gave some business to a carrier from Maybole to Edinburgh once a fortnight' (*Statistical Account of Scotland* (Kirkoswald), vol. x, p. 483). This was probably the carrier to whom Lord Kilkerran alludes.

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truths they were not at the time sure of, and it had not been an improper reflection for another than yourself to have been made at the time, that you had not been led to say so much if things had been to take a wrong turn. At the same time, for as well as things have gone I pray God this unlucky affair may not be the occasion of more distress upon this part of the United Kingdom than we are yet aware of. One thing I am sure of—that it will be the utmost injustice to lump the innocent of this country with the guilty, as those are far, very far the greatest number, yet I have hints from England that we are in general looked on as a rebellious people.

It is an unlucky incident the E[arl] of Leven's commission came not down in time;¹ many reflections are made on it. Myself, I am persuaded, for I cannot otherwise construe it than as an omission of some clerk in the Secretary's office and hope by next post to hear it is come. There is not a set of men on earth more attached to a government than the Church of Scotland is to the Protestant succession.

. . . I was glad you found your friend at Carlisle continue to keep up his character. His letters to myself are more manly than formerly; but for your seeing him

¹ A full account of this affair is given in the *Scots Magazine* for this year (vol. viii, pp. 244, 245). The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met on Thursday, 8th May, when it was discovered that the Earl of Leven's commission as Lord High Commissioner had not arrived from London. 'As the civil and ecclesiastical powers are each of them very jealous of their rights and privileges; and as the former contend, that there can be no legal Assembly without a Commissioner, while the latter hold the contrary, the Assembly's conduct was now very much the object of people's attention.' On the 9th of May 'an express was arrived with a commission to the Earl of Leven. . . . But the difficulty was not yet removed: for, by some mistake, the Commissioner was not authorised to act till Friday the 16th.'

The solution chosen was ingenious. The Assembly elected a Moderator, John Lumsden, Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen, and named committees; after which it adjourned until the 16th. Thus 'the Assembly asserted the Church's right of holding valid national assemblies without the sovereign or his Commissioner; and by delaying to determine any cause till the Commissioner met with them, they got the Royal sanction to all their proceedings. . . . Yet, in the *London Gazette*, which is published by authority, the Assembly is said to have met, and to have chose their Moderator, on the 16th, being the day that the Commissioner met with them.'

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soon, that I doubt and so will you when I tell you he has put an employment in my hand of recruiting for his company, and could give you other reasons which persuade me that he is not to be induced without violence to change that state of life.

One example of uneducated and prejudiced English opinion against the Scots as 'in general . . . a rebellious people' appears in an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *Old England*, published at the end of this year. Its author regarded the rising of 1745-6 as being directed not against the Hanoverian monarchy only but against the English nation as a whole. He wrote of the Scots' 'late insidious attempt to subvert our laws, constitution, and government, for it was all their own, and sprung from the innate animosity which they have always entertained, and invidiously shewn, upon all occasions, against us; as well in the brutal ignorance of the barbarous Highlanders, as in the politer treachery of the false Lowlanders, ever faithful confederates and allies to France. . . . A Scot is a natural hereditary Jacobite, and incurable by acts of lenity, generosity, and friendly dealing.' This publication, which was filled with not unfamiliar distortions of history and vulgar abuse of the Scottish nation, was vigorously answered by William Murray, M.P., afterwards Lord Mansfield, in another pamphlet, entitled *The Thistle*, and bearing the appropriate motto '*Nemo me impune lacessit*.' Murray dealt with his opponent's references to English 'lenity' by a scarcely veiled allusion to the barbarities committed by Cumberland after Culloden: 'English lenity! Heavens! Who are the people who have tasted of it? Let Scots, particularly those residing north of the Spey, stand forth and maintain the claim of Englishmen to lenity and compassion.' He pointed out that the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-Five

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had been defeated almost entirely by Scotsmen and Scottish regiments—‘it was found by experience, that English troops alone were no match for Highlanders’—asked how, if Jacobitism were hereditary to the Scots, ‘they did not all join in 1715 and 1745, in support of their principle,’ and claimed that ‘the majority of them have lately given such eminent proofs of their publick virtue, as put their zeal for our constitution, and loyalty to the present Royal Family, beyond all doubt and cavil.’¹

Dr Doddridge, who knew more about Scotland and the Scots than the average untravelled Englishman of his day, shared the apprehensions of Lord Kilkerran and his friends for the future. Writing on 27th May, he replied to Kilkerran’s letter of the 19th as follows:

. . . I have been long afflicted with those fears which your Lordship intimates as to the distress which we may yet apprehend from some dissensions between the two parts of the United Kingdom. The enemies of the Presbyterians in general will no doubt do their utmost to misrepresent the conduct of the Scotch clergy, tho’ many publick papers have done justice to their exemplary and approved loyalty. I wish the imprudence of some Scotch ministers in and about London (of which I could give your Lordship some astonishing instances) may not have given officious enemies some handle against their most deserving brethren. Such charitable prayers have been offered for the bodies as well as souls of the rebels and such strange concessions made in publick as to the hereditary right of the Stuarts and such bold reflections have been made on the conduct of the administration as I could not have believed had I not had very convincing evidence, and I am sorry to say these things have been as imprudently reported and aggravated as they

¹ *The Thistle: a dispassionate examen of the prejudice of Englishmen in general to the Scotch Nation.* London: printed for H. Carpenter, in Fleet Street, 1747.

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were spoken, and British generosity and good sense too foolishly sacrificed to English spleen. I care not to repeat to your Lordship the silly as well as cruel things I have heard on the occasion, but I have always strenuously opposed them, and did it lately at a nobleman's table when a gentleman of considerable rank and character openly declared that he thought Scotland should be treated as a conquer'd country.¹

I agree with your Lordship that the delay of Lord Leven's commission was an unlucky incident. I hope no slight to the General Assembly was intended. If it were, I should think the council fit for Cardinal Tencin² or some other creature of the Pretender and enemy of Britain to give. Lord Somerville tells me he was going to attend Lord Leven (May 8) it being the first day of the General Assembly.

I spent several hours with Lord Halifax the other day when I had the pleasure to hear him say that my dear M^r Fergusson was the most extraordinary young man that he knew and that his sobriety and virtue were equal to his diligence and address in business, on which his Lordship made the highest encomiums. M^r Somerville is also a very fine youth and will I dare say do us a great deal of credit.

Correspondence between Kilkerran and Northampton lapsed during the summer of 1746; John being still with his regiment and the Jacobite rising suppressed, there was nothing to write about. Lord Halifax's regiment remained at Carlisle, but its duties were nearly ended. 'His Majesty,' wrote Lord Halifax to Dr Doddridge, on 24th June, 'has, by a letter, written by the Secretary of War to the officers and soldiers of my regiment, assured

¹ The Earl of Albemarle, who succeeded Cumberland as commander-in-chief in Scotland, expressed exactly the same opinion in his letters to the Duke of Newcastle (*The Albemarle Papers*, vol. i, pp. 214, 357-8).

² Louis XV's minister, the successor to Cardinal Fleury.

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them that they shall, as soon as possible, be relieved by a regiment from Scotland, and then immediately march to Northampton, to be there disbanded.'¹ The relieving regiment, ordered south at the end of July, was Howard's (the Old Buffs).² John got leave to visit Kilkerran after the disbanding of Halifax's foot, and was there in September.

Lord Kilkerran took Dr Stevenson's advice and spent part of the summer at Scarborough.³ Dr Doddridge was in London in August, and on the 19th wrote to his wife at Bath an account of the execution of Lord Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, which had taken place on the previous day. Both men died with great courage, Kilmarnock declaring 'his detestation of the rebellion' and Balmerino, on the other hand, after reading a paper 'full of attachment to, and zeal for the Pretender' and donning his Highland bonnet in a last gesture of defiance. Doddridge had 'one of the best places near the scaffold' offered to him, but declined to watch 'the dreadful work.'⁴

He wrote an affectionate letter to John on 2nd October: 'I was much concerned to hear by Lord Halifax and Sir Thomas Samwell,⁵ who both speak of you with great regard, that you were but in an ill state of health. I hope your native air hath recovered it and desire you would be very cautious how you expose yourself again to the fatigues of military service till you have acquired a greater strength of constitution.' It appears that John remained at home till the beginning of the next year, for Doddridge sends various messages to him in a letter to Lord

¹ Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 497.

² *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 342.

³ Lord Kilkerran to the Earl of Sutherland, 4th December 1746 (Dunrobin MSS.).

⁴ Humphreys, vol. iv, pp. 508-10.

⁵ Second baronet of Upton, Northamptonshire (1687-1757).

CULLODEN AND AFTER

Kilkerran written on 20th December. 'I rejoice from my heart,' he adds, 'to hear how honourably he is spoken of by all who knew him here and at Carlisle, especially by Lord Halifax on whose faithful and affectionate friendship I know he may depend. I shall while I live retain a sincere and grateful sense of my obligations to him and his ever honoured Pappa. . . . He will be as cordially welcome a guest at my house as he can be at Kilkerran or Edenburgh. Indeed he is so tenderly dear to me that my heart melts when I write of him. . . . I should rejoice to do any service in his views of a commission, but considering the tenderness of his constitution and the great danger which attended the fatigues he so arduously and so generously underwent at Carlisle where he spared himself as little as any man in the regiment, I would fain have him repose himself a little longer.'

The last letter among Lord Kilkerran's papers which deals with the 'Forty-Five' rising was from James Ferguson of Pitfour, an Aberdeenshire advocate, whose career had brought him to considerable eminence in his profession, although 'his small shrill voice and awkward person prevented him from being an elegant speaker.'¹ He was a thorough lawyer. 'His favourite conversation was law and the history connected with our laws, and his favourite recreation reading some book of science.'² But in spite of his ability, his reputation, and his devotion to his profession, it was not till 1760 (when he was in his sixtieth year) that he became Dean of Faculty, and he attained the Bench, as Lord Pitfour, only in 1764; for being an Episcopalian and belonging to the Jacobite north-east, his loyalty was regarded with some suspicion. Though in actual fact he took no part in the 'Forty-Five,

¹ *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 154.

² George Dempster to Adam Fergusson, September, 1758 (*Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 1756-1813*, ed. James Fergusson, p. 46).

JOHN FERGUSSON

he, with Lockhart of Craighouse, played a notable and courageous part in defending the Jacobite prisoners who—in defiance of one of the clauses of the Act of Union—were brought to trial at Carlisle. ‘He and Lockhart found the English juries ready to hang any man who wore the tartan. It is said that the advocates resorted to a novel device, had their servant dressed in Highland garb, managed to slip him in with the next batch of prisoners, and then, by putting each other into the box, proved conclusively that he had been with them throughout the rising and could not possibly have been out. The incident is said to have had a most salutary effect in the trials which followed.’¹

Pitfour owed his promotion at last to the Bench to the astuteness of Lord Mansfield, who considered him ‘the first man at the Scottish Bar.’ When his name was submitted to George III, the King hesitated, asking whether there was not some political objection to him. ‘Lord Mansfield in reply said, in a matter of course way, that the Duke of Argyll, who was present, would vouch for Mr Ferguson’s loyalty. The Whig Duke, deprived perchance of presence of mind by the unexpected appeal, merely bowed’—and Pitfour got his judge’s gown.²

Pitfour’s part in the Carlisle trials lends particular interest to the following letter, which was written from Edinburgh on 4th October 1746.

MY LORD

It was a sensible mortifi[cation] to me that by the long continuance of our trials at Carlisle it became impossible for me to have the happiness of waiting on your Lordship as I intended, for tho’ I went no where

¹ J. Ferguson and R. M. Fergusson, *Records of the Clan and Name of Fergusson or Ferguson*, 1895, pp. 248–9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

CULLODEN AND AFTER

out of the straight road I could not get here sooner than Wednesday last and must on Tuesday go north where I have many things to do not having been there for 18 months past.

I send you inclosed the list of the prisoners who were tryed there in the several classes¹ and tho' some are convicted who in my judgement ought to have been acquitted, yet I must say the judges behaved with great candour and humanity and shewed much tenderness for the lives of the prisoners, giving them all opportunities to prove not only what might exculpate but even allevi[ate]² the crime. And as they have taken full note [of]² every circumstance proved, I doubt not but th[ey]² will have the effect to procure the Royal [pardon]² to every one who were in such circumstances and . . . [I'm]² very hopefull that tho' the convictions are many the executions will be few, which I take to be equally conducive to his Majesty's interest as it is agreeable to his benign and compassionate disposition. I shall detain you no longer but to offer my wife's humble compliments and mine to your Lordship, Lady Jean, Lady Maitland and all the dear young family, being always with much esteem

My dear Lord

Your Lordship's most oblidge and
obedient humble servant

JAMES FERGUSON

¹ The 'several classes' were, as Lord Kilkerran's endorsement puts it, 'what persons had pled guilty, what persons were condemned upon tryal, and what persons had been aquit.' See Appendix II.

² MS. torn.

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AFTER the disbanding of Lord Halifax's regiment of foot, John Fergusson seems to have enjoyed a period of leave at home, though some time during 1747 he was at Bristol. On 28th February of that year he received a commission in Lord Cobham's dragoons, that regiment which had so disgraced itself at Falkirk and only been prevented from doing so again at Culloden by the encouragement of the Duke of Cumberland himself. Cobham died, full of honours, a Field Marshal and a Privy Councillor, on 14th September 1749; and the command of his regiment passed on 4th November of that year to Major-General Sir John Mordaunt, who three months before had been appointed to command Ligonier's dragoons which had been Gardiner's and which, like Cobham's regiment, had a poor record of service in the Jacobite rising.

The Kilkerran family suffered two losses during 1747. Lady Jean's mother, Lady Maitland, died at Edinburgh on 11th February, at the age of sixty-seven; and Archibald, the third of Lady Jean's surviving sons, died in the autumn at the age of nine, and was buried near his grandfather, two small sisters, and a brother, in the old tower of Kilkerran.

At this point there is a long gap in Lord Kilkerran's correspondence concerning his eldest son. One draft letter among his papers helps to fill it. The draft is undated and the correspondent unnamed. It shows that Lord Kilkerran was trying to purchase a company for his son in an infantry regiment. A reference to Leighton's regiment makes it certain that the letter cannot have

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been written earlier than the beginning of December, 1747, since it was at that time that Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Leighton was given command of the 32nd Foot. This letter displays some of Lord Kilkerran's views on John's future career in the army. It probably belongs to the later months of the year 1748, during which it appears that John had a good deal of sick leave, and his condition, in spite of occasional deceptive improvements, was causing his parents considerable anxiety.

. . . My son's going to the army att all was much against my mind, but finding it might crush him if I remained positive against it I comply'd as you know, and having gone that length went so much farder as to give way to his purchasing a company if to be had on reasonable terms. But for a troop [i.e. in a cavalry regiment] which takes so great a sum and gives no better rank, however that might be reasonable for a young man who had no more patrimony than its price, would be wrong in me who have many other children, for whom I incline to provid[e] without bringing debt on him. He is a tender boy, and many fathers would not have thought of purchasing a company till he should have a more confirmed state of health, but that I have comply'd with, and should I lose him it would not be the loss of the money that would distress; but farder I do not incline to go. . . .

It was apparently in January, 1749, that the most disquieting symptom of John's illness showed itself—the spitting of a small stone. He was persuaded to make light of it, and did not even mention the occurrence to Dr Doddridge when he saw him a month later. But his health during this year was poor, and he seems to have been a good deal away from his regiment. At the end of January, 1749, he applied for a further year's leave, a

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request which seems to have somewhat displeased his commanding officer, Henry Whitley.

John wrote to tell his father of this from Arundel on 5th February 1749, and in the same letter mentioned the new and sinister symptom of his illness.

. . . When I came here I found that Colonel Whitley when he was here visiting the quarters express'd his surprize in a way that shew'd him to be displeased at my having ask'd such a favor as a year's absence even before I had join'd the regiment after being from it so long, upon which I wrote again to him and told him that I was sorry to find that my request had offended him but I shou'd have lik'd it better had he told me so himself than let it have come to my knowledge by a third hand and that if I cou'd not have leave immediately any time hence wou'd do, to which I had a very civil answer, that he was glad I had deferr'd my intended tour and that he wou'd make my stay with the regiment as agreeable as he cou'd. Another cause may be a drynes that has been betwixt him and Colonel Jorden¹ who always was my friend and unask'd did what he cou'd for me, which I believe rather did me harm.

In my last I was very pressing with you to buy me a company which I now won't desire you to do till you ask Doctor Stevenson's opinion about a thing I think very extraordinary. Something more than a year ago I spit a little blood, and for some time after that had a very severe cough till one morning after great coughing I brought up a brownish stone near the size of a small pea and quite smooth, after that, the cough left me. Whence the stone cou'd come did not a little puzzle me and an apothecary to whom I told it almost persuaded me that I was mistaken, but the same thing except the spitting of blood having happen'd yesterday,

¹ John Jorden, Lieutenant-Colonel of Harrison's foot (15th); he died in 1756, shortly after his appointment to the command of the 9th Dragoons.

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makes me positive I was in the right. The stone I spit yesterday was about the size and shape of two pinheads sticking together. I am perswaded that if there are any number of them in the lungs they must wound them and occasion small sores, which soon must cause a consumption. If this be the case don't scruple to tell me, for it will not make me uneasy.

I am

Dear Pappa

Your most dutiful

and most obedient son

JN. FERGUSSON

The prevailing note of all John's letters at this time is a brave realisation that his illness was a fatal one, and a desire to lessen the grief of his parents by a calm acceptance of it. The course of his decline seems to have been hastened by the damp climate of Arundel, where he was stationed during the winter of 1748-9.

His next letter, also from Arundel, was written on the 24th of February.

DEAR PAPPA

By last post I had yours of the 14th which gave me as much satisfaction as I'm capable of receiving here, as at the same time that it alarm'd me with an account of Mamma's illness it made me easy by the news of her recovery.

I think myself extremely oblig'd to your good nature for overlooking what I may have said in a hurry. When I wrote on the third¹ I was just going out upon a command I did not much like, upon which I escaped ducking if not drowning by a circumstance a little singular. The riding-master, for what reason I can't guess, desir'd to go along with me. About 9 miles from this he happen'd to be riding foremost, when we came to a place where a river

¹ Probably a mistake for 'fifth,' the date of the preceding letter.

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bank had burst and the ground prodigiously overflow'd. As soon as he saw the water he stopt short, and endeavor'd to perswade me to return, and after talking with him for some time I enter'd the water, when a farmer came galloping across a field calling to me 'Stop,' for that if we went farther we shou'd all be lost, adding that he'd shew us a way across the field, which he did. The cause of the riding-master's fright was that he had dreamt he was to be drown'd and this water exactly resembled what he had seen in his sleep the night before. This dream caused the delay else the farmer wou'd have come too late.

I can't think the doctor's conclusion a just one about the small stones. I have had for some days a severe pricking pain in my left side which is easier in some postures than others. This I believe to be occasion'd by these small stones, one of which I have spit since I begun to write. It is about the size of a barley-corn, very white and so hard that it took two blows of a poker to break it upon an oak table. The doctor may remember that Lord Drummores's son M^r Horn¹ used to throw up great quantitys of them. For this reason I don't chuse to look out for a company, for I shou'd think you to blame were there one offer'd now if you wou'd give the money. I beg Mamma mayn't see this letter, as she has been ill it may make her uneasy. I wish it may give you as little concern to read it, as it does me to write it.

If you're not yet gone to the country I wish you a good journey. Dear Pappa,

Your most dutiful
and obedient son

JN. FERGUSSON

¹ Hew Horn of Horn (1717-46), second son of Hew Dalrymple, Lord Drummore (1690-1755), Lord of Session and Justiciary. He assumed the name of Horn on succeeding to the estate of that name (which formerly belonged to his maternal grandfather John Horn of Horn, advocate) on the death of his elder brother John. He married in 1742 Anne, third daughter of Sir John Inglis of Cramond, but had no issue.

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In a letter to his mother, written on 19th April, also from Arundel, John gives only two lines of news of his health—so that she shall not think he is concealing anything from her—but otherwise writes cheerfully on other subjects.

Though your last promis'd me that I was soon to be favour'd with a letter from Jenny,¹ yet since I last had the honor to write to you I have not heard any thing from you. This I mention not as a complaint of your neglecting me, but only to shew that I'm at least a fair correspondent tho' I'm frequently at a loss what to write.

I don't recollect that ever I told you of John Megill's having manag'd matters so well as to be the only one of all the late Duke of Somerset's servants that has kept his place.

Last Sunday an unlucky accident happen'd here from which however no ill consequence ensu'd. An old cobbler and his wife having got a neck of mutton for their Sunday's dinner invited one of their acquaintance to partake with them; but to make the feast compleat they thought it necessary to have a sallad which the old man went out to gather, who not being a good botanist brought a considerable quantity of nightshade of which all 3 eat heartily and afterwards went to church, where the old man by committing some very immodest actions made the first discovery of madnes, the common effects of nightshade, which also began to operate on the others in much the same manner. They were immediately carry'd home and the apothecary sent for, who soon perceiv'd that poison was the cause of their madnes, which the fragments of their repast confirm'd. By the use of proper antidots they are now recover'd.

We have had it in all the English papers that Pappa is appointed Justice Clerk.²

¹ His eldest sister, Jean (1728–1804).

² This rumour was probably inspired by Lord Kilkerran's appointment on 3rd April as a Lord of Justiciary on the resignation of Lord Milton. Shortly afterwards he went the Southern Circuit (Jedburgh, Dumfries, and Ayr) with Lord Elchies.

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Day before yesterday, I spit up 3 or 4 pieces of stone of a blood red without pain.

I am, dear Mamma,

Your most obedient and dutiful son

JN. FERGUSSON

His next letter, written on 25th April, maintained the same cheerful tone.

DEAR MAMMA

By last post I had the honor of a letter from you dated the 12th, and another from Peggy¹ on the same paper, both of which mention'd the trifling things I sent the girls in such a way that I'm quite ashamed of, for in short I thought them so little worth their acceptance, that when the box was so long amissing I entertain'd hopes of it being lost, and that of course they wou'd have thought something better was intended for them than they had got. . . .

It has lately been hinted to me, that it was thought odd, my keeping but one horse, so that I'm now looking out for another, which if I get and at the same time obtain leave to go home, I shall need a little money, tho' if I stay here I shall have no occasion for any. . . .

I'm afraid you make yourself uneasy about me, you enquire so particularly when any more of these stones came up, which makes me very uneasy, as their coming away is the best thing that can happen to me. I shall never fail to tell you. No longer ago than this morning I got free of some extremely hard and jagged of a milk-white colour, the last before these I mention'd to you.

Here there is another gap in John's correspondence with his parents. A fragmentary letter to Dr Doddridge,² written from Edinburgh on 23rd December 1749,

¹ John's second sister, born in 1729. She died at Clifton on 8th October 1753. A memorial tablet to her was erected in Clifton parish church.

² Printed by Humphreys, vol. v, pp. 146-7.

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described the beginnings of his illness 'last January, when, after riding very hard, I was taken with a violent fit of coughing, which brought up three or four pieces of ragged blue and white stone, so hard that they were broken with difficulty. . . . These small stones the physicians take to have been the cause of my illness, and have prescribed me the use of soap and oyster-shell lime-water, and sent me, for the sake of air and goats' milk, to our Scots Montpelier, the rugged Isle of Arran.'

The air of Arran and the goats' milk possibly did him some good, more at least than the other remedies. Soon after New Year's Day, 1750, John felt well enough to set out to rejoin his regiment at Shrewsbury, accompanied by his servant; but his strength proved unequal to the journey. He got as far as Wigan in Lancashire, which he reached about 11th January. He had been unwell since he left Edinburgh and unable to sleep, and at Wigan he went down with 'a fatal hectick fever,' painfully complicated by other ailments, and was confined there for several days.

He wrote on the 12th to tell his parents of his illness, but the letter is lost; six days later he was slightly better but still in great pain. Even then, however, he was able to joke about his afflictions:

. . . Surely if thinking on past troubles be pleasant, the week and whatever more time I spend here, will afford me some time or other abundance of agreeable cogitation. The two first days I was here I had to bear up against the toothach which when I wrote to you I flatter'd myself had been gone, the belly ach and purging, the piles and strangury, from all which I am at present free but the piles which are so swell'd that I'm oblig'd to keep my bed as you may see by this strange

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writing, but knowing all your anxietys about me I did not care to keep you in suspense another post. . . .

His next letter, written on 20th January, shows the same desire to spare his parents anxiety by making light of his sufferings.

My bodily pain is now chang'd into that of the mind upon the account of the anxiety you have felt for me. I'm much afraid my last rather increas'd your fears than otherwise for I'm told I rav'd both before and after my writing it, all I know of it is that I thought it calculated to make you easy which I now much doubt of.

I shall now give you an account of my illness. In my first from hence I told you what a troublesome share I had of the contents of Pandora's box. Then I was in hopes that in a day or two I shou'd be able to continue my journey, but in lying abed 5 days all my complaints left me, except the piles which by the application of roasted figs, and when that wou'd not do bread and milk poultice, were got to a monstrous size. Violent pains, my having slept but one night betwixt this and Lockerby and not having shut my eyes since I came here, prevail'd on me to call a surgeon, which I had before obstinately deny'd to John's repeated entreatys. Fear of the common ignorance of a country practitioner or what is worse, the danger of his applying something contrary to the nature of the sore to keep me the longer in his hand, which is no uncommon fate to strangers, were what deterr'd [me] from calling assistance sooner. When my Galen came I lik'd his jolly face and accordingly found him a discreet man. After viewing the sore he told me he wish'd he had been call'd sooner, for he did not know whether it was the piles, it was now got as large as a small apple and very hard. However he aply'd a poultice which in two days broke it, the day of my delivery was yesterday, and the 7th from my confinement. Notwith-

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standing the breaking it was necessary to lay it open, which was done not without pain as several parts of the skin remain'd very thick; the wound he gave me is pretty large as I guessed by the time he was making it and the bulk of the tent¹ he put into it. However I'm now entirely without pain and hope to be able soon to travel without danger. I'm in good spirits and hope soon to regain at Shrewsbury what I have lost here, indeed my legs are reduced to half their proportion, but it's an ill wind that blows no good for my boots were rather too strait.

I am, dear Pappa,
Your most dutiful
and obedient son

JN^o FERGUSSON

P.S. I'm got out of bed for the first time. As I cou'd not change my posture while there, being up is a great relief.

John did not after all reach Shrewsbury. Perhaps the jolly-faced Galen of Wigan advised him against it, or he may have had another relapse. He wrote to Colonel Whitley a report of his condition, hinting also that his ill health might force him to resign his commission; and a few days later he set out on his last journey, back to Edinburgh.

Here is his mother's last letter to him:

Edinburgh. February 1st 1750.

MY DEAREST SON

Your three letters from Wiggan of the dates 12th 18th and 24th did not reach us till yesternight. You will imagine being so long of hearing made us very uneasy but we never imputed it to any neglect of yours, having ever found you the most dutiful of children and never

¹ Dressing.

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neglectful to write frequently. Of this you have given great proof under your present heavy affliction when you had so little external comfort and so great bodily pain, that you have writ so often and with so much spirit in order to cheer your parents who had it not in their power to give you any comfort or assistance even by letters, not knowing where to direct. May the Father of mercys, the God of all consolation, the Almighty Saviour bless and comfort, support and recover my dear child. . . .

When your health and strength can permit your return to Scotland you may be sure your freinds would think it a great mercy and comfort to see you, but till there is some probability of your being able to undergo the fatigue I hope you will not begin the journey. Your Pappa writes this night to Dumfresre where there is an excellent phisician, as Doctor Stevenson is at too great a distance to come; this is Doctor Gilchrist whom the Doctor says is as sufficient a man in his way as any in Scotland and I have heard a great character of him as a good man and a good phisician. In case he is not to be had your Pappa writes to Craighdarroch¹ whose freindship I know will easily induce him to come your length to be a companion to you while at Wiggan or to be with you upon the road, for it's hard you shou'd have no body to converse with. . . . My dear child will easily beleive that his Pappa and me and both his sisters wou'd gladly come where he is were it practicable, but your proposal of setting out on your return home makes us quite uncertain where we cou'd meet you, and my Lord is a litle threaten'd just now with the gout in his toe, tho' I hope it will not come to a fit. . . . The distance makes it

¹ This might be Alexander Fergusson of Craighdarroch (no relation of the Kilkerran family), the husband of the Annie Laurie of the song, but he was an old man at this time, and Lady Jean probably refers to his son James (1713-71), who during the 'Forty-Five acted as Commissioner for the Duke of Queensberry and had the unpleasant task of reporting to him the damage wrought by the Highlanders at Drumlanrig. James's son, another Alexander Fergusson of Craighdarroch, was one of the three Bacchanalian contestants celebrated by Burns in *The Whistle*.

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needless to send directions about your health from hence, your sobriety makes it unnecessary as you never take any but a cool diet. You will need to keep warm and shun cold as much as possible when you take journey.

You did prudently in acquainting Collonel Wheatly of your circumstances as also in deferring a final resolution till coming to Edinburgh, as if God gave you better health you may change it, tho' you know your leaving the army wou'd be very agreeable to your father and me who desire no earthly blessing so earnestly as your recovery. A gentleman call'd for me this morning who was for a long time in a much lower state than you are and is now a sturdy strong-lyke man. Keep a good heart, my dear, look up to God—he can and will help you and make all things work for your good, and to his infinite goodness I recommend you leaving further particulars to your Pappa. I am

My dearest child

Your affectionate mother

JEAN FERGUSSON

John got back to Edinburgh on 5th February, and Dr Stevenson no doubt attended him, but his decline had gone too far for there to be any hope of his recovery, nor did a change of air at Kilkerran arrest it. He died at his father's little house outside Edinburgh on the 25th of July. His mother being a daughter of the house of Sutherland, his body was buried in the Sutherland burial-place in the Abbey of Holyrood, 'and lyes opposite to the Earl of Sutherland's monument, between the two eastmost pillars on the north side of the Church.'¹ The day of his funeral was 27th July. It was his twenty-third birthday.

A number of letters of condolence, written during the next few days by relations and friends of his parents,

¹ *Holyrood Burial Register*. The site of John's grave has been covered by later tombstones.

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were preserved by Lady Jean. They all offered consolation in the conventional phraseology of the period. 'Your eldest son's death is a very sharp dispensation of providence,' wrote Lord Arbuthnott; 'the will of God must be done,' Lady Cassillis observed, 'and we cannot know what is best for us'; 'he's now happier,' remarked another correspondent, 'than this world can make any body.' But the phrases of some of these letters seem to go beyond the mechanical eulogies that might have been expected, and to indicate that by John's early death a career of unusual promise had been cut short.

'The accounts of Mr Fergusson's death,' wrote Lady Jean's aunt, the Dowager Countess of Lauderdale, 'give me very great grief, all who knew him must regret him. He was a sedate sensible young man, and had a sweetness of disposition not to be equaled. . . . O dear Madam, how much do I sympathize with your Ladyship and my Lord. What a tryal must it be for parents to lose such a son.'

Francis Kennedy of Dalquharran, an old Jacobite who had been out in the 'Fifteen, but now lived in retirement as an Ayrshire neighbour of Lord Kilkerran's,¹ praised John's 'extraordinary natural qualitys with the virtuous good dispositions of his mind'; and old Lady Shaw of Greenock, the daughter of Lord President Sir Hew Dalrymple, summed up his parents' loss in terms in which they themselves must have tried to view it:

'Though your son's liffe was but short, it was long enough for him to distinguish himself in the cause and for the service of his country! and to shew that had he been spared it would have been for a blessing to all

¹ He was the father of Lord Cockburn's friend and correspondent, Thomas Francis Kennedy of Dunure, M.P., who built the harbour of Dunure and the original portion, from the design of Robert Adam, of the modern house of Dalquharran.

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connected with him. Heavy is the loss of such a child and still there is comfort in the reflection that he was such a one, and that his memory must ever be dear to all who knew him.'

The letter which must have come from Dr Doddridge is, curiously, not to be found; but Lady Jean's reply to it survived to be printed in an obscure little book published half a century later.¹ It gives a moving account of John's last illness; and not the least pathetic part of it is the tone of its earlier pages, in which the grief of the bereaved mother turns in bewilderment to the flinty Calvinistic faith of her childhood, imagining that she, the gentlest and kindest of women, must have 'heinously offended' to bring such a blow upon herself.

[Kilkerran.] August 18, 1750.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR

. . . Tho' my present depression of spirits makes me very unfit to write to you, yet I know your goodness will excuse incoherence and confusion in one oppressed with sorrow; and I did not chuse to employ any other to write upon a subject which has engrossed my whole thoughts for some months past. I am sensible, I ought not to mourn as those who have no hope, when I have reason for the greatest with regard to my dear child; but it would be the highest stupidity not to be deeply humbled under the mighty hand of God, who by this awful dispensation tells me that I have heinously offended, since I have drawn such a stroke from the Father of mercies, who does not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men. He has taken from me Him, who above all my children, was the delight of my eyes, and the joy of my heart; Him, who for twenty-three years past, has en-

¹ *Letters from the Rev. Mr Job Orton and the Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, Bart., M.D., to the Rev. Thomas Siedman, M.A.*, 2nd ed., Shrewsbury, 1805, vol. i, pp. 318-25.

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grossed a great share of my care and tenderness, my hopes and fears; but I ought to be dumb with silence and not open my mouth, because HE has done it, who has wise and holy ends to serve in his dispensations. Happy will it be for us, if we have a right to those comforts you so kindly administer in your letter.

You inquire about my beloved child's behaviour in his last illness, and you have a right to be informed about it, as you were at such pains to instill into his mind right principles and sentiments in every thing becoming a man and a Christian; and your labour was not lost, since it tended to ripen him for another and a better life, as well as to fit him for a useful and honourable appearance in this, had it pleased God to lengthen his days.

He had a most grateful sense of all your favours, as well as the highest esteem and regard for you, and has often entertained us with an account of your indefatigable labour of various kinds, which would make one wonder how any man had time or strength to go thro' so much. He to the last remembered your affectionate care for him, and the confidence and intimacy you honoured him with, and he mentioned you with tender affection a very few days before he died: he was also very sensible of M^{rs} Doddridge's tender and motherly care about him. I mention this only because the natural reserve and modesty of his temper make me imagine he never told you how much he loved you.

It would be needless and improper for me to say any thing of the happy talents he was blessed with, tho' his early capacity and desire for knowledge were indeed surprising. What I have reason to remember with still more pleasure is, that his whole life was free from any gross vice, even those which most children are incident to; neither can I recollect, that from his earliest infancy I ever heard any indecent or prophane words proceed from his mouth. He never liked, when in his best health, those trivial amusements or gay entertainments which

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other youths are so generally fond of; insomuch, that I have often told him he was too grave for his age; but this did not proceed from want of natural sprightliness and vivacity, as you well know; but I have reason to believe, that he had early presages that his life was not to be long, and therefore spent the small time allotted him to better purposes.

That he had a sincere regard for, and firm belief of our holy religion, I certainly know: that he was a constant advocate for it, and better acquainted with the proofs and principles of it than most young people, you cannot but know, as you were a happy instrument of his instruction: that he had a sincere love and esteem for all good people, however much decryed or undervalued by a prophane world, he ever declared. I believe he punctually read the scripture every day; for I remember three years ago when he was at home with us, that I often looked into his room in a morning, and at every one of these times I found him so employed. He punctually attended publick worship wherever he was; and when at home here last winter, no day was so bad as to keep him from church, and he was much affected by the preaching of the word even in his childhood.

You will have heard, that he was seized with a fatal hec tick fever, attended with much other sore distress, at Wigan, on his way to the regiment. When he wrote us accounts of this, he did it with so much chearfulness, that one would have thought him in perfect health; yet the symptoms he mentioned were so bad, that our physician, a very skilful one, told us he believed it impossible we could ever see him again. But it pleased God, mercifully to disappoint him, and to give my child strength to return to us in five days after we got the first accounts of his illness. He often expressed great thankfulness for the divine goodness, which gave him strength for such a journey. . . . Every thing was tried that could be of any use to him, and his spirits were supported to the last in

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remarkable chearfulness and serenity; insomuch, that I do not think I ever saw him more entertaining and sprightly than he frequently was in his last illness; at the same time he was perfectly sensible of the danger of it, and frequently told both his sisters, who constantly and affectionately attended him, that nothing gave him so much concern as the grief he saw I was in, which, however, we all endeavoured most carefully to conceal from him. To the very last he was frequently observed by all of us to put up ejaculatory petitions, and some part of every day was spent in reading a portion of scripture, and frequently some other useful book. Last year he read and much liked M^r Hervey's 'Meditations.'¹ At this time your 'Sermons on Regeneration' were read to him,² which he heard with much pleasure and approbation, as also several of M^r Evans's sermons,³ and often said, 'there was a great likeness of sentiment and expression between him and the Doctor.' One remarkable mercy which I cannot but mention with thankfulness was, that he never complained of sickness or pain after his return to us, and for the most part slept well in the nights. He had indeed a bad cough, and great shortness of breath and weakness, but so great was his patience, that he scarce ever complained, and generally said, he was very well.

He seemed to have no terror or aversion at death; and even when he thought proper to tell me that I must lay my account with it, he did it with the same coolness and seeming unconcern he would have spoke of any other subject. At that very moment he appeared to me so

¹ *Meditations and Contemplations*, by James Hervey (1714-58). The first volume, published in February, 1746, contained the well-known *Meditations among the Tombs*.

² *Practical Discourses on Regeneration in Ten Sermons . . . preach'd at Northampton*, published in 1742. The volume with John's autograph and Lord Kilkerran's bookplate is in the library at Kilkerran.

³ *Practical Discourses concerning the Christian Temper . . . designed for the Use of Families*, by John Evans, D.D., 2 vols., 4th ed., 1737. This work is also in the library at Kilkerran.

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beautiful, had such vivacity in his eyes and bloom in his complexion, that I thought I would have given any thing in the world for his picture; but I am not so happy as to have even that poor resemblance of him left me. However, at that trying moment I was so far supported, as not to shew any weakness to him. He had just before told his sisters the same thing, and that it became them and him to submit to the divine will without repining, and that he had no regret for the shortness of his life. They also bore it with great calmness, which, considering their age and vast affection for such a brother, was a wonder. But this suppressed grief now often gets vent in sighs and tears. He had the satisfaction to see his father before his death: his being on his circuit and necessary attendance on his duty in the Session, made it impossible for him to be with us here; but at my child's desire, his sisters and I attended him to a little neat house near Edinburgh; and there it was he died, or rather fell asleep, for he expired without a groan, and was buried in the Abbey Church, upon the 27th of July, his birth-day, near some of his worthy and dear relations, now in heaven.

His death was so easy, that his physician said, he had never in all his practice seen the like; and thro' every step of his illness there was a remarkable tender providence watched over him. Even those who attended him felt the effects of it in the uncommon serenity and calmness they were supported in. While he lived, he himself had no symptom to the last that was shocking or distasteful. May I not be allowed to think, that a death so easy, I might say lovely, was a part of a merciful reward for a virtuous and well-spent life? . . .

The grief of John's parents at his death needs no other testimony; but some of the elegiac lines written by his mother deserve a more secure life than that of the worn scrap of paper preserved by Sir Adam Fergusson with

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some earlier verses and endorsed by him 'Some writings of my mother's.'

TO THE EVER DEAR MEMORY OF JOHN FERGUSSON, ESQUIRE ELDEST SON TO THE LORD KILKERRAN

Accept, loved youth, thy mourning parents' tears,
Whose fondness grew with thy encreasing years,
Not that blind fondness which most parents know:
Their heartfelt joy did from thy virtues flow.
Thy lovely form might others' eyes invite:
Thy growing merit was their souls' delight. . . .
Too early good and wise to linger here,
A vicious world was not thy proper sphere. . . .
Such early love of liberty possess'd
And patriot zeal inflam'd thy generous breast,
That, when rebellion with a savage band
With war's alarms disturb'd our peaceful land,
Then thou, brave youth, with love of honnour fired,
To fight or dye for liberty aspired.
In thy short course each virtue was express'd:
Who swiftly runs may early go to rest. . . .

EPILOGUE

DR DODDRIDGE did not long survive his pupil. He was never a strong man, and he had sapped his constitution by over-work. At length he developed consumption, and by the summer of 1751 was in a very weak state. His friends prevailed on him to go abroad in search of health, but by the time he agreed to this it was too late to be of any use. He sailed for Lisbon on 30th September, and arrived there on 13th October. The sea voyage had done him good, and his mind was cheerful and serene. On the 21st he was moved a few miles out of Lisbon into the country; but thereafter he sank rapidly, and died on the 26th, three months short of his fiftieth birthday. He was buried in the cemetery belonging to the British Factory at Lisbon, and a memorial erected to him, which was restored by the British Chaplain in 1814. It was replaced in 1828 by a marble tomb, at the expense of the last survivor of his pupils, Thomas Taylor; and this also was renovated, with the tomb of Henry Fielding, in 1879, by the Rev. Godfrey Pope, then British Chaplain at Lisbon. Doddridge's congregation erected a tablet to his memory in the meeting-house at Northampton in 1753, with a long and eulogistic inscription.¹

Doddridge's pupils remained together till the next vacation after his death, when the Academy was removed to Daventry under the care of Dr Caleb Ashworth, whom Doddridge, in his will, had specially recommended as his successor.

Lord Kilkerran lived for several years longer, carrying out his judicial duties in spite of age and infirmity, and as

¹ Printed in full in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. xv, p. 629

EPILOGUE

wise and kindly a father to Adam and his other children as he had been to John. He died on 20th January 1759, in the same little house near Edinburgh which had seen the death of John, and which was soon afterwards sold by his successor, Adam.

Adam Fergusson had entered the Faculty of Advocates in 1755, made the grand tour between the autumn of 1756 and the spring of 1758, and was beginning to win himself a reputation at the Scottish bar. He entered Parliament in 1774 as member for Ayrshire and had a long and honourable career in public life.¹ He died a bachelor in 1813, and left Kilkerran, of which he had been a careful and benevolent master, to his nephew James, from whom the present owner is directly descended.

Four of Lord Kilkerran's other children lived to be over sixty. Jean never married, but kept house for her eldest brother and died nine years before him, in 1804. Charles, the father of Sir Adam's heir and several other children, became a wine-merchant in London and owner of a Jamaica estate; he was not a good business man, and his elder brother had to come to the rescue of his affairs on at least two occasions. Charles appears for a vivid page or two in the racy memoirs of John Macdonald the Highland footman, which were re-published as *Memoirs of an Eighteenth Century Footman* in 1927. He died in the same year as his sister Jean.

Helen, who lived till 1810, became the second wife of Lord Hailes, the friend of Boswell and Johnson. Her daughter Jean married her cousin James, the fourth baronet of Kilkerran, and was the mother of Charles, the fifth. Lady Hailes's portrait by Raeburn,

¹ For an account of him see *Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 1756-1813*, edited by James Fergusson, 1934.

EPILOGUE

formerly at Kilkerran, now hangs in the Tate Gallery in London.

George, who was born in the year when John first went to Northampton, lived the longest of all his generation of the family and died in 1827. He was the subject of two caricatures by John Kay, and enjoys a luminous immortality in the pages of Lord Cockburn as Lord Hermand. He was one of the liveliest characters and hardest drinkers of the old race of Lords of Session: a warm-hearted enthusiast, eccentric but aristocratic in appearance, conservative in principles, acute in intellect, violent in argument. The champion and the idol of the young in general and children in particular, he 'at last mellowed away, amidst a revering household, without having ever known what a headache is, with no decay of his mental powers, and only a short and gentle physical feebleness.'¹ He married Graeme MacDowall, his first cousin once removed, but had no children.

One of the most characteristic stories of Hermand told by Cockburn deserves to be reproduced here for the witness it bears to the devotion which Lady Jean Fergusson inspired in her children. During a hotly contested debate in the General Assembly of 1805, Hermand made a typically passionate speech in which he declared, "'Sir! I sucked in the being and attributes of God with my mother's milk!'" His constant and affectionate reverence for his mother—she had then been dead for nearly forty years—'exceeded the devotion of any Indian for his idol; and under this feeling he amazed the House by maintaining (which was his real opinion) that there was no apology for infidelity, or even for religious doubt, because no good or sensible man had anything to do except to be of the religion of his mother; which, be it

¹ Henry Cockburn: *Memorials of his Time*, 1856, p. 134.

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what it might, was always the best. "A sceptic, Sir, I hate! With my whole heart I detest him! But, Moderator, I love a Turk!"¹

Lady Jean survived her husband and died on 29th March 1766. She was buried at Holyrood, 'in the Earl of Sutherland's burying place, three feet south from the iron rails of the monument,'² close to the grave of the eldest and most dearly loved of her children.

¹ Henry Cockburn: *Memorials of his Time*, 1856, p. 208.

² *Holyrood Burial Register*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.—‘*Rules to be Observed in the Assembly Hall,*’ 1746

1st No lady to be admitted in a night gown, and no gentleman in boots.

2^d The dancing to begin precisely at five o’clock afternoon in winter, and six in summer.

3^d Each sett not to exceed ten couples and to dance but one country dance at a time.

4th The couples to dance their minuets in the order they stand in their severall setts.

5th No dancing out of the regular order but by leave from the Lady Directress of the night.

6th No dancing whatever to be allowed but in the ordinary dancing place.

7th No dance to be begun after eleven o’clock at night.

8th No misses in skirts and jackets, robe-coats nor stay bodied gowns to be allowed to dance country dances but in a sett by themselves.

9th No tea, coffee, negus, nor other liquor to be carried into the dancing room.

It is expected no gentleman will step over the rail round the dancing place but will enter or go out by the doors, at the upper, or lower end of the room, and that all ladys and gentlemen will order their servants not to enter the passage before the outer door with lighted flambeaus.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II.—*Enclosure in Pitfour's letter to Lord Kilkerran of 4th October 1746*

List of the prisoners tryed for High Treason at Carlisle
September 1746¹

Pled Guilty

Scotsmen

Sir Arch^d Primrose of Dunipace
Laurence Mercer of Lethinty
Rob^t Murray (Brother to S^r Rich^d M.)
W^m Sharp Esq^r (Grandchild of Abp. S.)
James Innes of Banff Esq.
Charles Gordon of Talpersy
David Home (B^r to Whitefield)
And^r Johnstone (Son to Knockhill)
Henry Clark Gent.
Robert Taylor Shoemaker in Ed^r
Robert Randal Gent.
James Smith writer
Andrew Porteous merch^t
Patrick Lindsay Gent.
Rob^t Maxwell writer
John Wallace
John Campbell
W^m Duncan
Rob^t fforbes (Brother to Cap^t fforbes)
Robert Reid
Donald M^cKenzie
Hugh Roy
John Davidson
John M^cKenzie
John Poustie

¹ For the individual histories of the prisoners see *The Prisoners of the '45* (Scottish History Society, 3 vols., 1928-9).

APPENDIX II

Ronald M^cDonald
 Andrew Swan
 Ja^s Harvie
 James Campbell
 James Mitchell
 Alex^r Davidson
 Patrick Keir 32

English

Roger Fulthorp
 Tho^s Keighly
 Samuel Lee
 Barnaby Mathews
 Thomas Park
 John Robottom
 John Saundersone
 Philip Hunt
 Valentine Holt 9

 41

Convicted on Tryal

Scots

ffranc. Buchanan of Arnprior
 Don^d M^cDonald Kinlochmoidart
 Don^d M^cDonald Tiendrich (major)
 James Hay Cap^t in y^e ffrench Service
 M^r Robert Lyon Clergyman
 W^m Home (Son to Bassenrig 14 y^{rs} old)
 John Henderson of Castlemains
 Patrick Murray Goldsmith in Sterling
 James Ancrum Gent.

APPENDIX II

James Brand Watchmaker	
John McNaughton d ^o	
Richard Morison the P's valet	
Alex ^r Hutchison	D ^o groom
Thomas Lawson	
John McNeil	
James Forbes	
Hugh Cameron	
Symon Lugton	
Alex ^r Stevenson	
Alex ^r Andersone	
William Baird	. . . 21

English

Tho ^s Coppock Clergyman	
Stephen Fitzgerald Gent.	
W ^m Wynstandley	
George Hartley	
Richard Brown	
W ^m Cook	
Molineaux Eaton	
William Hargrave	
Thomas Hayes	
John Hartley	
Edward Roper	
Robert Tinsley	
Peter Taylor	
George Waring	
Mathew Waring	
James Mollen	
James Chaddock	
Michael Delard	. . . 18

APPENDIX II

Convicted but recommended
to mercy by the Jury

Scots

Robert Wright writer in Ed ^r	
William Gray Surgeon	
Patrick Stewart	
W ^m Lecky	4

English

John Coppock	
Thomas Harvie	
John Ratclif	
Thomas Turner of Bury	
Tho ^s Turner of Walton	
Lewis Barton	
John Small	7
	<hr/>
	11

Discharged from the Bar on Tryal

Scots

Charles Spalding of Whitfield	
Baron Ferguson of Athole ¹	
Ja ^s Seton (Son to Carriston)	
Pat. Buchannan	} Brothers of Arnpnyors
Tho ^s Buchannan	
James Murray Surgeon	
Martin Lindsay Writer	

¹ James Fergusson of Dunfallandy. See *Records of the Clan and Name of Fergusson or Ferguson*, pp. 98-102.

APPENDIX II

Arch^d M^cLaughlan Drover

James Thoirs Writer

William Stewart

Alex^r Brodie

Alex^r Steil

Neil M^cLaren

Don^d M^cDonald

Don^d M^cCormig

Ja^s Drummond

John Petrie

Jo. M^cClaren

John Forrest

George Steil

John Martine

Pat. M^cGriggor

Dunc. M^cGriggor

David Laird

Patrick Butter

Robert Gordon

Duncan Neish

Acquit upon

their

giving Evidence

of their

Surrendring ymselves

and

claiming y^e benefite

of the

D. of Cumberland's

proclamation

27

English

Thomas Barton Gent.

Tho^s Collingwood Gent.

Ja^s Braithwaite

Thomas Hatch

Robert Rosco

Tho^s W^msone

Edmund Bane

Tho^s Warrington

Patrick M^cEwar

9

36

APPENDIX II

Remain untried of those who were indited

viz.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | Thomas Blair (?) | |
| 2 | John Stewart | } But have assurances
to be sett at Liberty soon |
| 3 | Rob. M ^c farlane | |
| 4 | W ^m Greenhill | |
| 5 | Cha ^s Douglass Esq ^r | pled his peerage of Lord Mordington |

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